

JPRS-SSA-84-104

28 September 1984

Sub-Saharan Africa Report

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

28 September 1984

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

CONTENTS

ANGOLA

Enlistment Campaign in Zaire Province (JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 5 Aug 84).....	1
Results of Coffee Distribution (JORNAL DE ANGOLA, 5 Aug 84).....	2
Briefs	
Youth Brigades	3

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Briefs	
Chinese Economic, Technical Accord	4

GUINEA

Conakry-Mamou Road Project Described (Demba Doumbouya; HOROYA, 9 Aug 84).....	5
Briefs	
Airbus A-300 C4	7

GUINEA-BISSAU

Briefs	
Military Helicopter	8

MOZAMBIQUE

Resumption of Roadbuilding Program (DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, 2 Jul 84).....	9
Riverboat Faces Uncertain Repairs After Running Aground (DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, 4 Jul 84).....	10

River Transportation Improves With Reentry of Vessel (DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, 13 Jul 84).....	11
Beira Official Urges Two-Season Planting, Greater Vigilance (DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, 14 Jul 84).....	13
Briefs	
FAM Cadets in GDR	15
NAMIBIA	
Mudge Asks Kalangula To Join DTA (DIE REPUBLIKEIN, 6 Aug 84).....	16
Naas Leaves Broederbond (DIE REPUBLIKEIN, 7 Aug 84).....	18
National Party Admits Meeting With Afrikaner Resistance Leader (DIE REPUBLIKEIN, 8 Aug 84).....	20
Namas Support Multi-Party Conference Unconditionally (DIE REPUBLIKEIN, 9 Aug 84).....	22
NP Criticizes P.W. Botha (DIE REPUBLIKEIN, 9 Aug 84).....	23
Country's Situation Viewed by Political Scientist (Gerhard Totemeyer; SUNDAY TIMES, 19 Aug 84).....	25
Sean Cleary on Need for New 'Independence Plan' (THE CITIZEN, 27 Aug 84).....	27
Alleged Atrocities by SADF Detailed in Shock Disclosure (Tony Weaver; RAND DAILY MAIL, 28 Aug 84).....	29
Rohr Alleges SADF Atrocities (Tony Weaver; THE CAPE TIMES, 28 Aug 84).....	31
Difficulties of Ceasefire Negotiations Examined (Peter Honey; THE STAR, 31 Aug 84).....	32
Briefs	
SWA Rail Takeover	34
Manpower Bureau Plan	34
NIGERIA	
Fate of Missing Politicians Unknown (AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, No 16, 1 Aug 84).....	35

Details on 1984 Budget Given (AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL, Jul 84).....	37
Produce Export Grows by 63 Percent (DAILY TIMES, 7 Aug 84).....	38
Success of Local Rice Experiment Reported (Haruna Izah; SUNDAY TRIUMPH, 26 Aug 84).....	39
Reportage on Military, Industry, Training (AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL, Jul 84).....	41
Nigerians To Undergo Training in Indonesia (DAILY TIMES, 17 Aug 84).....	42
Briefs	
Niger Border Opened	43
Soviet Cooperation Talks	43
Elf Oil	43
Defense Minister's Comments	43
UK Delivers Tanks	44

SOUTH AFRICA

Wide Gulf in Attitudes Uncovered by Elections (Allister Sparks; THE STAR, 24 Aug 84).....	45
Government Repression of Political Opponents Hit (CITY PRESS, 26 Aug 84).....	47
Political, Social Implications of Elections Examined (Hermann Giliomee; RAND DAILY MAIL, 1 Sep 84).....	49
House of Delegates' Power Struggle Described (Ticks Chetty, et al.; SUNDAY TIMES, 2 Sep 84).....	51
Elections Raise Doubts Over Validity of HSRC Surveys (Gary van Staden; THE STAR, 4 Sep 84).....	53
Research Shows Sharp Drop in Support for CP, HNP (Andrew Beattie; THE STAR, 28 Aug 84).....	57
Operation, Success of 'New Deal' Examined (Chris Freimond; RAND DAILY MAIL, various dates).....	59
Israel Honors Mayor of Johannesburg (THE STAR, 31 Aug 84).....	63
Commentary on Upholding of 'OBSERVER's' Appeal (Editorial; THE STAR, 1 Sep 84).....	64

Dutch Embassy Hits at 'Meddling' Claims (Mauritz Moolman; RAND DAILY MAIL, 31 Aug 84).....	65
Role of Zionist Movement in SA Surveyed (Marcus Arkin; RAND DAILY MAIL, 30 Aug 84).....	67
Swazi Chiefs Wish To Secede From Kangwane (Jo-Anne Collinge; THE STAR, 31 Aug 84).....	69
Retraction on Ruth First Murder Story (THE STAR, 1 Sep 84).....	70
Government's Handling of 'Urban Blacks' Discussed (Frederik Zyl Slabbert; SUNDAY TIMES, 2 Sep 84).....	71
HSRC Survey Shows Coloureds, Indians Prefer PW Botha (THE STAR, 3 Sep 84).....	75
Demographic Growth Poses Increased Social Problems (John Tilston; SUNDAY TIMES, 2 Sep 84).....	76
Deaths, Detentions in Transkei Deplored (Patrick Laurence; RAND DAILY MAIL, 30 Aug 84).....	79
Commentary on Labor Party Victory (Editorial; CITY PRESS, 26 Aug 84).....	81
Homelands' Labor Policies Assessed (Carolyn Dempster; THE STAR, 31 Aug 84).....	82
Labor Situation in Bophuthatswana Examined (Andrew Beattie; THE STAR, 31 Aug 84).....	86
Reserve Bank Sees Need To Trim State Jobs (Paul Bell; RAND DAILY MAIL, 29 Aug 84).....	88
De Kock's Assessment of Economy Analyzed (John Von Ahlefeldt; THE STAR, 1 Sep 84).....	89
Economy, Prosperity Menaced by Inflation (John Katz; THE STAR, 3 Sep 84).....	91
Trade Unionism at Crossroads, Says Tucsa Chief (Carolyn Dempster; THE STAR, 4 Sep 84).....	93
Atlantis Diesel Engine Project Saves Forex (Priscilla Whyte; RAND DAILY MAIL, 1 Sep 84).....	94
Liquor Licences Bought by Portuguese Businessmen (Stephen McQuillan; THE STAR, 4 Sep 84).....	95

Dry Summer Predicted	
(THE CAPE TIMES, 28 Aug 84).....	96
Another Dry Season Threatens Farmers	
(Hannes Ferguson; THE STAR, 1 Sep 84).....	97
Briefs	
Gerhardt's Commission	99
Foreign Policy	99

SWAZILAND

Lonrho Unhappy With Sugar Prospects	
(RAND DAILY MAIL, 28 Aug 84).....	100
Refugees Pose Trick Problem	
(Joao Santa Rita; THE STAR, 4 Sep 84).....	102

ZAMBIA

Tazara Problems Resolved	
(Enock Ngosa; TIMES OF ZAMBIA, 3 Sep 84).....	103
Railway Project May Cost More	
(ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL, 3 Sep 84).....	104
Train Disruption Averted Following Strike by 2,000 Workers	
(ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL, 6 Sep 84).....	105
Briefs	
Students to GDR	106

ZIMBABWE

Hundreds Benefit From Food-for-Work Scheme	
(THE CHRONICLE, 29 Aug 84).....	107
Drought Forces Farmers Off Land	
(THE HERALD, 30 Aug 84).....	109
Farmers Resettled in Masvingo	
(THE HERALD, 31 Aug 84).....	110
Archbishop Hurley on Christianity's Conflict With Socialism	
(THE STAR, 30 Aug 84).....	112
Development Programs for Masvingo Province	
(THE HERALD, 31 Aug 84).....	114

Mugabe's Impact With Words Examined (DAILY DISPATCH, 31 Aug 84).....	116
Briefs	
Newspapers Lose	118
Zanu Women Ransack ZAPU Home	118

ANGOLA

ENLISTMENT CAMPAIGN IN ZAIRE PROVINCE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 5 Aug 84 p 12

[Text] The people of Zaire Province have demonstrated their desire and determination to participate more appropriately in protecting the achievements made by organizing and joining the Public Vigilance Brigades now in their infancy in the city of Mbanza Congo.

In an interview with ANGOP [ANGOLAN PRESS SERVICE], Artur Vidal, provincial commissioner of Zaire Province, said that an extensive operation for raising public awareness has been carried out in all districts, municipalities, communes and settlements in the province, with the main thrust in areas where enemy actions have had major repercussions and in border areas.

According to Artur Vidal Gomes, the Public Vigilance Brigades now being established will operate in close cooperation with defense and security agencies, as well as with officials of Local Committees in communes and provinces and with the elderly, who are fully familiar with their areas.

According to the provincial commissioner of Zaire Province, highly positive results are already being noted inasmuch as the enthusiasm of the population and their confidence in defense and security agencies are evident, not to mention the enlistment of youth in the glorious FAPLA [People's Armed Forces For the Liberation of Angola] and ODP [People's Defense Organization].

According to Artur Vidal Gomes, the present respectable number of brigade members in the municipality of Mbanza Congo, whose membership will increase considerably in future months, have "contributed substantially to the public peace and welfare of the population, and they are carrying out their efforts for National Reconstruction."

11915

CSO: 3442/465

ANGOLA

RESULTS OF COFFEE DISTRIBUTION

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 5 Aug 84 p 12

[Text] Fernando Mafuila, coordinator of the Productive Sector of the Party Provincial Committee of Uije, confirmed to ANGOP [ANGOLAN PRESS SERVICE] that the process of distributing Mabuba coffee from farms to the cities, known as "Operation Coffee 84," has been carried out satisfactorily.

Fernando Mafuila said that satisfactory results were achieved despite countless problems encountered, namely the shortage of transportation, the shortage of sacks, the poor condition of access roads, and the late arrival of fuel due to lack of transportation.

The operation began on 2 June, and between then and 12 July 1,457 sacks, totaling 747 tons of coffee at an estimated value of 12,428,600 kwanzas, were distributed from the municipality of Mulonga.

Respectively distributed from the municipalities of Damba and Maquela do Zombo were 1,351 sacks of Mabuba coffee, totaling 81,180 kg, and 402 sacks, totaling 24,120 kg.

The process of marketing in rural areas began between 7 and 21 July in the Cafexi sector and since then 4,132 sacks, totaling 163,405 kg of coffee valued at 4,902,150 kwanzas, have been marketed.

Other agricultural produce such as manioc, maquesso, corn, bananas, beans, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, lemons and kiringu, whose total value was 109,362,050 kwanzas, were also marketed during the same operation.

11915

CSO: 3442/465

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

YOUTH BRIGADES--Serafim Cananito Alexandre, secretary of the National Committee of the JMPLA [Youth of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] -Party Youth for the Productive and Social Sphere, visited Uije Province several days ago as part of the process of establishing Rural Youth Brigades. The youth secretary for the productive sphere in this province met with party officials and inquired about the involvement of young people in various socioeconomic tasks. Cananito Alexandre met with the leadership of Rural Youth Brigade camps of the territorial enterprise "Uije-II" as well as with local action committees and the farmers' association of the community of "Kimbiana," where young people presented a list of concerns related to work. Four youths who had distinguished themselves in their work at the camps, by gathering 6,870 tons of coffee berries in the initial days, were introduced at the "Uije-II" territorial coffee enterprise. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 5 Aug 84 p 12] 11915

CSO: 3442/465

BRIEFS

CHINESE ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL ACCORD--PEKING.--China and Equatorial Guinea yesterday signed an agreement on economic and technical co-operation, the official New China News Agency reported. It was signed by Chinese Vice-Minister for Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, Mr Lu Xuejian, and Mr Marcellino Nguema Onguene, Minister of State for Foreign and Co-operative Affairs, NCNA said but gave no details. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 17 Aug 84 p 11]

CSO: 3400/2170

CONAKRY-MAMOU ROAD PROJECT DESCRIBED

Conakey HOROYA in French 9 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by Demba Doumbouya: "As of March 1985 \$73 Million for the Reconstruction of the Conakry-Mamou Road"]

[Text] Work on the reconstruction of the Conakry-Mamou road will begin in March 1985. This was the outcome of a prequalification meeting of the contracting businesses concerned in the work, held on Tuesday at the Ministry of Public Works.

The project, for which 43 businesses submitted detailed applications, deals with the strengthening of 255 km of road from the foundation up, and the application of a double layer of crushed stone. The work will include road repair, and the strengthening of construction works with some local corrections of the ground plan.

The road network will be equipped with horizontal and vertical road signs. It will be provided with safety barriers in dangerous areas. Financing is guaranteed by the World Bank and the African Development Bank (BAD), with the participation of the Guinean Government in local currency.

Supervision of the work will be the responsibility of the Guinean administration and the Louis Berger (USA) and Tractionnel (Belgium) group of consultants. Manpower and technical assistance will be provided by the Guineans and by experts from the businesses which will be selected after the examination of contract offers.

According to Goureissy Ly, manager of the road project, Department of Civil Engineering, responsible for the coordination of the Conakry-Mamou road reconstruction work, the daily traffic on this section reaches a volume of 3,500 vehicles going from Conakry to Coyah, 2,500 vehicles from Coyah to Kindia, and 1,500 vehicles (per day) from Kindia to Mamou.

The section's residual value forbids a volume of traffic corresponding to the exigencies of rapid development not so much from the point of view of safety as from that of user comfort, Goureissy Ly stated. The cost of vehicle operation is so high because of the poor state of the network.

The initiative taken for the reconstruction of this section for a minimum of 15 years is therefore salutary. It will allow for its dimensions to be increased: 255 km in length and a minimum of 7 meters wide, and an increase in the intensity and weight of road traffic. The work, which will take 30 months to complete, will be begun in March 1985.

It is to be noted that the Conakry-Mamou road constitutes a segment of the third road project which has as its goal:

--The laying of 360 km of asphalt road.

--The regravelling and restoration of some 1,000 km of dirt road.

--The study of a short and medium term transportation plan and the training of Guinean staff and laborers.

The cost comes to \$73 million of which \$21 million is in local Guinean currency.

9824

CSO: 3419/890

GUINEA

BRIEFS

AIRBUS A-300 C4--An Airbus A-300 C4 in the passenger-freight version will be put into service at the end of the year with the Air-Guinea airlines, the Airbus-Industrie company stated. The plane, equipped by the Air-Guinea company in the so-called combination version, which allows for the transportation of containers or pallets of goods in the front and passengers in the rear section. Air-Guinea, which becomes the seventh company in Africa to use an Airbus Industrie aircraft, will put the plans into service for its passenger and freight operations between Conakry and Europe (mainly Paris and Brussels) and to the Middle East. The A-300 will also be used in an all passenger version for pilgrimages to Mecca. [Text] [Conakry AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French Aug 84 p 17] 9824

CSO: 3419/890

BRIEFS

MILITARY HELICOPTER--France has offered a five seater military helicopter in the form of military cooperation between the two countries. The delivery of the machine took place on 25 June in Bissau in the presence of the head of state and the Yves Robin, the French ambassador. Making an official visit to Brazil, the president was to visit the plant of the Embraer aeronautical construction firm, the first in Latin America to build trainer aircraft, regional transport planes (Bandeirante, Brasilia) and a fighter-bomber in cooperation with Italy (AMX). [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French Aug 84 p 17] 9824

CSO: 3419/890

RESUMPTION OF ROADBUILDING PROGRAM

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 2 Jul 84 p 4

[Text] The beginning of the Dondo-Inhaminga road, a branch of the northeast road, with the investment of the Department of Roads and Bridges (of the Ministry of Industry and Power), carried out by the regional enterprise CETA, has been recently started up again after being halted at Km 7 because of the rains.

The development of that project, as reported by CETA director Momad Bey is now in the earthmoving phase on stretches of 16 and 20.5 kms, respectively.

Of the swath of 30 meters being cut through the forest, 7 correspond to the actual roadway, according to Momad Bey, and this year the construction plan of that project carries a budget of 50 thousand contos.

In referring to the project work area, Bey said they are presently working in Savane. He also mentioned that the earthmoving varies from 30 to 80 cms, saying that the overall progress of the job is moving along 'at a good rhythm.'

He mentioned that the Dondo-Inhaminga road will cover a stretch of 150 kms, of which 20.5 have already been cleared and the earthmoving completed on 16, in keeping with the engineering drawn up by COTOP, a state-owned company.

The CETA plan is budgeted at 115 thousand contos and, according to its director, some extra jobs will be carried out to supplement it in the amount of 23 million. These are made up for the most part of jobs to be done in Cala and Dondo districts, Beira City, and other areas of Sofala.

Momad Bey told our reporter that they began work last month on the 'Outr Marker' [sic] access road for Beira airport, which will be a help to air traffic. The underwriter is the Mozambique Airports company and the cost is figured at 10 million.

In the area where the 'Outr Marker' is to be built, a house has already been put up which will contain the installations and equipment for the aforementioned help, and the road, which will be 3,700 meters long, will be completed in two months.

RIVERBOAT FACES UNCERTAIN REPAIRS AFTER RUNNING AGROUND

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 4 Jul 84 p 3

[Text] The vessel 'Divinhe' which sank in the middle of the Save river in Machanga district nearly two weeks ago, has already been towed to the provincial capital of Sofala, where it is to be put through a general overhaul.

Its owner, Rodrigo 'Guibo' Charfudine, has revealed that half of the cargo it carried must be considered lost because of spoilage when the waters of the Save got into the boat. Among the cargo destroyed were sacks of rice, sugar, wheat flour and bran.

The rescue operations, whose speed and efficiency allowed some of the cargo to be recovered, were notable for the large participation of the local populace and the officialdom of Machanga district, especially the personal involvement of the administrator of the region.

"What could be saved were the cases of beer and the drums of oil and gasoline. The boat has a capacity of 47 tons plus 150 passengers, but on that voyage it carried only 40.97 tons and 114 passengers. So overloading was not the cause of its running aground," 'Guibo' told the DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE.

At present and until the official investigation results are in, it is presumed that the principal cause of the accident was the neap tide that often causes a relative drop in the water level of the Save, making sailing conditions dangerous, especially for medium-draft vessels like the 'Divinhe'. This could have created an unexpected sandbar, onto which the boat was violently thrown, which let the water come in.

"The engine was completely submerged and will have to be dismantled and put through a general overhaul. The hull and structure of the boat will also need some repairs," 'Guibo' worriedly added.

All the repair work on the boat together may take more than 60 days and run over 600 contos. But the difficulty they are most likely to run into, according to Guibo, is not the money problem but rather the chances for finding the parts that may have to be replaced.

RIVER TRANSPORTATION IMPROVES WITH REENTRY OF VESSEL

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 13 Jul 84 p 4

[Text] Another vessel is scheduled to enter navigational service next week, which, together with the only other one presently operational, with a capacity of 106 passengers, is going to help solve the problem of shipping on the coastal and river service between Beira/Buzi and Sofala and vice versa.

It is recovery of the ship Joao Baptista', which, according to another shipping operator of the area, Jose Americano, had suffered some damages during the salt shipping season in Marrocanhe and Chiloanae.

During that phase, only the vessel with the name of 'S.Pedro' served the Beira/Buzi run (on Tuesdays and Fridays, as well as Saturdays and Sundays) and the Buzi/Sofala run -- one of the localities of this district -- on Wednesdays and Thursdays.

Americano mentioned that, once both vessels are in operation, passenger service for that zone should reach 80 percent.

He added further that repairs to the boat going back into service shortly, and to others, will guarantee an efficient operation for about five years.

In addition, the boat 'Rio Mandego' should enter service in 30 to 40 days. High tide is presently being awaited to float it, with prospects for service to Sofala and maybe other points farther away.

Jose Americano went on to say that he expects that by October a total of four vessels of his company, Empresa de Transportes [Transport Enterprise], will be operating full time.

By early next year, he said, a new engine should be installed in the boat 'Rio Ave', which will then be put into service.

He had no information about coastal and river transportation, especially passenger service, to the zones of Machanga, Membone, Inhassoro, and others.

Even for the district of Buzi there have been crowds, and people needing service have had to go back home and wait for the next trip. People waiting to sail to Machanga have had to face delays of up to two additional weeks.

Down at the Manarte Quay we spoke with Joaquim Mandongue, age 48, who was accompanied by his daughter of about 8 years of age. He told us that he had been at that station for two weeks waiting for transportation to Machanga.

'They told me to wait for the boat,' he said. 'because since I had baggage, I couldn't board another one that already sailed for Machanga. This isn't the first time this has happened to me. There have always been problems, and some people have to wait many days, sometimes a month.'

He went on to say 'we always sleep here. Since I have a child, we can't just wander the streets. We fix our meals right here, right up to the day we'll get to make the return trip.'

Joaquim Mandongue added that he had come to the provincial capital of Sofala to pick up a package from a brother. In the district where he lives, he is a fisherman, and so his work has been interrupted temporarily.

From what we learned, tickets for Buzi go on sale the day before the trip, at 9 o'clock. There are still crowds waiting to go to the aforementioned zones, because of the shortage of boats.

12430

CSO: 3442/446

BEIRA OFFICIAL URGES TWO-SEASON PLANTING, GREATER VIGILANCE

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 14 Jul 84 p 4

[Text] Every citizen should involve himself actively in the battle against hunger, participating in the expansion of the green zones of the city of Beira. For that purpose, all fallow and uncultivated lands should be utilized for second season cultivation.

This guidance was given by Lourenco Marra, First Secretary of the City Committee in a meeting recently held in the Nhaconjo section on the outskirts of this city in connection with the opening of the trading post of the local consumer cooperative.

The expansion of the green zones should be carried out, that official stressed, with the planting of sweet potatoes and garden produce to take advantage of the present cold season.

Somewhat later, Lourenco Marra appealed to the farmers of the City of Beira to switch immediately from growing rice to those other nutritious tubers. "Everyone should be planting sweet potatoes in all [text illegible]," he said.

To emphasize the priority of that measure, he instructed the local incentive groups to mobilize the populace, stating that he would come back in a few days to check on progress in carrying out the instruction.

In this context, each incentive group in the neighborhood should draw up its own specific planting plan for the production of garden produce and sweet potatoes.

Turning to another subject, the Central Committee member appealed to the neighborhood political structures to get started outlining their concrete programs for commemorations on 25 September, adding that "it should be a celebration different from any ever held."

To carry out that directive, Lourenco Morra appealed to the party and government bodies of this town to start planning the festivities, which, in principle, should go on for four weeks. "We don't want improvisations. Everybody should already start thinking about what they're going to do in their neighborhood on the 25th of September," he said.

Going on to the subject of tighter vigilance, the First Secretary warned the people of the neighborhoods to train themselves to guarantee order and tranquility, declaring by way of example that:

"The consumer cooperative that lets itself be broken into by thieves because its members don't maintain vigilance, we shall cut off the supply of products. All of us must defend our goods."

12430

CSO: 3442/446

BRIEFS

FAM CADETS IN GDR--A group of cadets of the Mozambique Armed Forces [FAM] who are currently attending the Otto Winzer Ground Forces School in the German Democratic Republic, presented Major General Armando Panguene, Deputy Minister of National Defense, during his recent visit to that country, with a contribution of 159,500 marks to support the strengthening of the defensive capacity of our country. In his speech Armando Panguene expressed his gratitude for the gesture of the cadets, who, in spite of being outside the country, showed their solidarity with the broad popular movement in support of strengthening the defensive capacity of the country, which demonstrates their level of patriotic consciousness. In concluding his remarks, the deputy minister of national defense urged the group to devote even greater attention to their studies in order to master the military science and techniques that are also a way of strengthening our defensive capacity. [Excerpt] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 11 Jul 84 p 1] 12430

CSO: 3442/446

MUDGE ASKS KALANGULA TO JOIN DTA

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 6 Aug 84 p 5

[Report by special representative: "Kalangula Hears Voice of VPK (Multi-party Conference)]

[Text] Oshakati--On Saturday, the CDA [Cooperation for Development in Africa] leader in Owambo, Mr Peter Kalangula, was publicly asked by the chairman of the DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance], Mr Dirk Mudge, to join the Multi-party Conference.

Mr Mudge and the vice chairman of the DTA, Mr Gregor Tibinyane of the Tswanas, lectured to three DTA meetings in and near Oshakati. A total of about 800 people turned up at the three meetings on short notice.

Mr Mudge asked Mr Kalangula if he wants to continue with his homeland apartheid policy in Owambo. "We cannot make peace if the various leaders are in places such as Oshakati, Caprivi, Kavango or Windhoek. That is apartheid. We must get together and make peace. That is actually what the DTA has always tried to do.

"A leader who is here and wants only a Owambo government promotes apartheid. If we don't make an end to this and find each other, independence will not come rapidly."

Mr Mudge said that investors are scared off by terrorism in Owambo. There is danger that a factory or bridge built today is blown up tomorrow. "People who destroy their own livelihood cannot expect to be helped.

"We in the VPK want the other leaders to go home too. Then peace can come about and everyone can take part in the independence process together.

"We do not want to be governed by South Africa any longer. We don't want our problems to be solved through arms. We prefer the peaceful way."

Mr Mudge warned SWAPO that if it won't talk voluntarily with the other parties, African countries will force it to do so. He says that African countries are tired of war. He made an appeal to the Wambos to work together with people in the South, East and West in order to form a strong national unity, "even if we speak different languages."

When he addressed the meetings, Mr Tara Imbili said that trained people would come forward once SWA/Namibia is independent. He says that the police and members of the security force will be retrained after independence to make them fit into the new government system. "After all the years of South African government in SWA/Namibia, there is not even one black colonel, brigadier or general."

According to Mr Imbili these were precisely the types of discriminating practices which led to the founding of SWAPO. He asked for a halt to the discrimination so that the people of SWA/Namibia themselves can be trained for higher positions. This will enable them to govern the country after independence.

Mr Tibenyane said that the three meetings serve as proof that the DTA is very alive in Owambo. That is precisely why the DTA will continue to bring the people of SWA/Namibia together. The VPK is actually proof of the DTA's striving to also let the parties of SWA/Namibia talk together.

One very important goal of the VPK is exactly to bring about reconciliation. "If we work toward reconciliation only after independence, we won't succeed."

Mr Tibenyane referred to SWAPO and the CDA of Mr Peter Kalangula as two parties which do not want to come to the VPK. In Lusaka it was clear that SWAPO prefers to continue with the war.

"But who suffers most in that war? " asked Mr Tibenyane. "Are those who are killed white or black? Are the children who are kidnapped white or black? Who is without schools--white or black children?"

He also claimed that ethnicity is being overemphasized in Owambo, while the DTA had warned against overemphasizing it.

8700
CSO: 3401/126

NAAS LEAVES BROEDERBOND

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 7 Aug 84 pp 1, 5

[Article by the editor of DIE REPUBLIKEIN: "Naas Withdraws From Broederbond"]

[Text] The director of DIE SUIDWESTER, Mr I. G. (Naas) du Preez, has resigned from the Afrikaner Broederbond and is now threatening to sue if it is said that he is a member of that organization.

Mr Du Preez was present at the founding meeting of the Afrikaner National Guard about 10 days ago, where certain of his family members took part in the evening's program.

Among other things, DIE REPUBLIKEIN reported that Mr Du Preez is "a bigwig in the membership of the Broederbond."

Through his attorney, Mr Du Preez demanded an apology for this report in which it is to be stated "that Mr Du Preez is not a member of the Broederbond." A covering letter warned that if DIE REPUBLIKEIN does not act on this matter, "further appropriate action will be taken immediately and without delay."

The apology must also state: "DIE REPUBLIKEIN offers herewith its sincere apology for any inconvenience which the erroneous report has caused him (Mr Du Preez) and his family."

According to the book "The Super-Afrikaners Inside the Afrikaner Broederbond," by Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom, Mr Du Preez became a member of the Broederbond in 1968 at the age of 32.

Mr Du Preez did not make public his resignation from the Broederbond. Information which DIE REPUBLIKEIN has received since the founding of the National Guard would have it that Mr Du Preez resigned from the AB recently.

Dr Adnries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party in SA, also resigned from the organization recently but made it known publicly. So also certain of his associates in the CP.

Mr Du Preez is also unhappy because it has been reported in this connection that he is administrative director and chief editor of DIE SUIDWESTER, while he is only director now that Mr Thys Human has taken over for him as editor. In fact, DIE REPUBLIKEIN already reported this on 12 March. The error came up in a quotation from notes taken during an interview conducted with Mr Kosi Pretorius when the post of news editor was offered to Mr Human--with the assumption that Mr Du Preez would stay on as editor as well as administrator. Subsequently matters developed differently from what Mr Pretorius then envisaged.

12620

CSO: 3401/131

NATIONAL PARTY ADMITS MEETING WITH AFRIKANER RESISTANCE LEADER

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 8 Aug 84 p 6

[Article: "Kosia Admits Conversation With AWB's Gene"]

[Text] Mr Kosi Pretorius, leader of the National Party in SWA-Namibia, admitted at a press conference last night that he has had secret discussions with Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, and others.

On further questioning Mr Pretorius said that he was alone, but he was not prepared to say who had accompanied Mr Terre'Blanche. He would not say what they had discussed, either.

Concerning the discussions with Mr Terre'Blanche, he quoted a decree from his director concerning the ignorance of people in South Africa about the situation in SWA-Namibia.

Asked whether he might have found out whether Mr Terre'Blanche had "tampered" with any of his members of congress during the evening, he said that he was not aware of any such thing.

Many of his members of congress were confused yesterday about the speech by attorney Eben van Zijl the previous evening, but this was because the SWA Executive Committee and press reports did not give a balanced report of the speech.

In answer to questions, Mr Pretorius also said that the National Party is prepared at the moment to talk with SWAPO about laying down weapons.

If SWAPO does so, the National Party will also consider discussing with SWAPO a future dispensation.

Asked whether there may be a vote of thanks to come for Mr A. H. du Plessis who left SWA-Namibia this year, Mr Pretorius said that it is not "customary" for NP-Congresses to receive motions concerning such former leaders.

It was done when Mr Du Plessis retired as leader.

Asked about the document which was distributed to NP congressional members at the door of the congressional chamber last night, Mr Pretorius said that his party had not given approval for the distribution of the documents.

Members of congress did not quote from the documents behind closed doors, either.

A memorandum was also drafted yesterday concerning the possibility of closing the Gobabis railway. The contents will be made public later.

Mr Pretorius also said that he has again been selected as leader, and likewise all the officials of the party.

Concerning Resolution 435 he made the following statements, among others:

Attorney van Zijl never said the NP had accepted Resolution 435;

The National Party has not yet summarily rejected Resolution 435;

We do not accept Resolution 435;

A non-acceptance is not a summary rejection;

"If certain conditions are accepted, we will again be prepared to discuss Resolution 435."

12620

CSO: 3401/131

NAMAS SUPPORT MULTI-PARTY CONFERENCE UNCONDITIONALLY

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Africaans 9 Aug 84 p 4

[Text] The Namas' Legislative Assembly decided at its last session to support unconditionally the activities of the VPK [Multi-Party Conference], said Mr Cornelius Cloete, chairman of the Nama Executive Committee.

According to Mr Cloete however the Nama Legislative Assembly wants the VPK to begin to do something real now.

"The time to introduce the VPK has now passed. Something has to be done to change the current status quo," he said.

Mr Cloete also said that his government spoke out very strongly against those parties that have embraced the VPK only in order to enhance their own image and ideology.

The main goal of the VPK is to draft a permanent constitution for the country. It must not be used as a platform on which to build up an individual image or to attack another party, he said.

According to Mr Cloete, the Nama government accepts the fact that the VPK is not in the position to grant it recognition, but the country cannot go on this way, he said.

Mr Cloete said his government also supports the view of the VPK that that body will have nothing to do with any interim government that will be dissolved by South Africa at one time or another.

12620

CSO: 3401/131

NP CRITICIZES P.W. BOTHA

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 9 Aug 84 pp 1,2

[Text] The congress of the National Party of SWA/Namibia yesterday took a few pot shots at Mr P.W. Botha and his National Party in South Africa, and one item for discussion which was adopted expresses "concern" because the SWA-NP leaders don't have direct access to the prime minister of South Africa, Mr P.W. Botha.

The SWA-NP also objected to the NP of South Africa not holding discussions about SWA/Namibia in its own ranks such as at its congresses and in its executive committee.

In his press conference last night Mr Pretorius referred to speeches of Mr P.W. Botha in Parliament that he would no longer talk directly with political parties in the Southwest, but that he would only talk with the VPK [Multi-party Conference].

Mr Pretorius also voiced his displeasure about South Africa's current attitude that when decisions are made on the Southwest, South Africa will decide in its own interest.

He took his objection further by saying that he believes that National Party supporters in South Africa should also be informed about the situation in SWA/Namibia. If that position is not taken, the National Party government might make decisions in South Africa which are contrary to the wishes of its own voters.

The congress also adopted an item for discussion yesterday in which its own leaders are criticized because they do not present matters clearly to the voters. The leaders are asked to spell out their action in an "unambiguous manner" to the voters.

Mr Pretorius also said that his congress had decided to transfer the training of nurses to the central government, but that the white administration should give scholarships to white nurses who want to be trained elsewhere.

As to the school standing empty in Karibib, Mr Pretorius said that they don't want to give it to the non-whites because that could cause friction. Perhaps it could be converted into a nursing home for whites.

Mr Pretorius also said that his congress was busy until yesterday afternoon with organizational work, in view of a possible election next year.

The last item for discussion adopted by the congress yesterday was that SWAUK [expansion unknown] ought to select plays in such a manner that their performances are also suitable for rural children.

8700

CSO: 3401/126

COUNTRY'S SITUATION VIEWED BY POLITICAL SCIENTIST

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 19 Aug 84 p 24

[Article by Gerhard Totemeyer]

[Text]

ONE hundred years ago, in April 1884, Namibia became a German colony.

Resistance to colonial rule was not tolerated, as the repressive wars against the Nama and Herero amply demonstrated. The colonial conquest was made total and absolute.

Indigenous social systems were interfered with, land — the very economic basis for pastoral people like the Herero — was taken away, and the political power of the indigenous people was controlled.

Northern Namibia's potential as a source of cheap labour was exploited over years to the full for the development of a white owned and controlled economy in the rest of Namibia, and the much condemned contract labour system was born.

The German colonial attitude towards the indigenous population was markedly paternalistic, sometimes benevolent, but more often marked by a *Herrentum* approach.

Indigenous people were considered minors in need of strict discipline. But the Germans did not emphasise ethnic cleavages or promote ethnic consciousness to the same extent as the South African Government, the successor to German colonial rule since 1915.

Benefits

The policy of subjugation, however, (against Mandume

in 1917, the Bondelzwarts in 1922, the Rehoboth Basters in 1925, and Impumbu in 1932) continued unabridged.

Having been entrusted by the League of Nations with the mandate to administer and develop Namibia in the best interests of its population, South Africa intensified the development of the territory but mostly for the benefit of the white population.

Plans by the South African Government to incorporate Namibia into the then Union of South Africa failed and were eventually abandoned.

The artificial revival of ethnic identity, inspired by the South African Government, and the resulting application of the homeland policy did not meet with the expected success.

It evoked resistance in the population groups concerned and contributed to increased political consciousness.

Dissatisfaction was reflected in the articulation of social, economic and political needs and disadvantages.

The dissatisfaction, encouraged by international attention given to the Namibian issue, had a unifying effect on the black population. Direct rule by the South African Government, especially after the late '60s, was heavily attacked and condemned.

White guardianship and rule became the focus of attack by the two oldest politi-

cal organisations of the territory, Swanu and Swapo. White-inspired political development was suspected of having an ulterior motive.

The failure of the policy of political ethnification of Namibia brought many more political forces to the fore. It became evident that political loyalty to Namibia had become stronger than allegiance to ethnic entities.

Eventually the urge for national unity superseded the group particularism embodied in the policy of separate development.

Human dignity, social justice, equal rights for all, fuller participation in the wealth of the country and independence became more important issues.

These issues became even more important once Namibia entered the pre-independence phase of its colonial history. The South African Government finally agreed to the independence of Namibia with the proviso that it would control the change-over as well as the timing of independence.

The delay in the independence process has made the population restless and doubtful about the South African Government's ultimate intentions.

It stands accused of a neo-colonial rule, an accusation which is rejected by the South African Government since it does not consider its military engagement in northern Namibia and across the border as a belated form of colonialism but rather as an act of self-interest and self-defence.

Unity

It is seen as part of *realpolitik* of a country which feels beleaguered by the whole world despite its success in establishing a new *cordon sanitaire* in Southern Africa.

But the South African Government's willingness to put Namibia on the road to independence cannot be doubted — although it will be at a price it considers worthwhile.

The Nkomati Accord and the Lusaka Agreement are

only the first stages of a broader planned strategy of "peaceful co-existence" with African states.

Until more dependent and enduring links have been formed with not only the neighbouring countries, but also other African states, Namibia's independence will remain a useful lever in the negotiation and bargaining process.

The most sensitive link in the peaceful co-existence process in Southern Africa seems to be Angola.

The withdrawal of the Cuban military forces from Angola remains linked to the independence of Namibia. Despite the South African Government's opposition to UN resolution 435, any alternative independence plan or interim government will not find the approval of the international community and the representative political forces in Namibia.

The South African Government has not been successful in its endeavours to win the minds and hearts of the majority of the Namibian population. While on the one hand the National Party in Namibia feels betrayed by its counterpart in South Africa, Swapo has not been brought to its knees despite many setbacks in its military struggle.

Unfortunately bloodshed will continue as Swapo considers its military engagement an important bargaining force in the independence process.

Nevertheless, there are many hopeful signs which could bring independence to the last colony of Africa in the not too distant future. The rigidity of the Vorster regime in South Africa has made way for the more flexible and approachable Botha regime.

The recent direct talks on the Cape Verde Islands with Swapo are a hopeful sign. It would be unrealistic to expect a final solution to so complex an issue at a first meeting. Many more will be needed to overcome remaining obstacles, to eliminate deep-seated suspicions and to form a basis of mutual trust.

Another positive development is the willingness of the

UN Secretary General to consult with all important political forces in Namibia.

Even the most recent not-so-successful Lusaka Conference should not be criticised too harshly as it has brought together political adversaries of many years' standing.

If there is a genuine urge to bring peace to Namibia, to end the loss of valuable lives, the destruction of resources and property, and the suffering caused by a bloody confrontation, the perceived obstacles in the independence process should not be insurmountable.

One can only hope that the Cubans' presence in Angola is not that important and fundamental to the independence of Namibia. Certainly linkage is a useful lever in the bargaining process, but it can be substituted by alternative commitments.

Democracy

If the South African Government:

- Can be convinced of the impartiality of the United Nations and its forces (to substitute the UNCTAD forces with an all-African force seems feasible) during the transitional period.

- Is promised that an independent Namibia will adhere to the principles of democracy.

- Can be assured of continued links and co-operation between itself and the post-independence government of Namibia.

- Is given the assurance of a possible agreement (even if it is not a formal one) of non-aggression, and

- Is given reason to believe that alien military forces will not be stationed in Namibia, then the Cuban issue could easily lose its present significance for the South African Government.

The Namibian population desperately longs for independence to finally bring to an end 100 years of colonisation.

Namibia deserves its independence; it has suffered enough as an object of others' self-interest and as a pawn in the game of power politics and economic interests.

SEAN CLEARY ON NEED FOR NEW 'INDEPENDENCE PLAN'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Aug 84 p 15

[Text]

WINDHOEK. — The South West Africa dispute had reached a turning point in which a growing number of international figures were asking themselves whether the United Nations settlement plan for the territory should be adjusted, a senior South African official, Mr Sean Cleary, said at the weekend.

Key figures in the dispute, including South Africa, remained committed to implementation of the independence plan but circumstances had changed since its formulation by the West in 1978, he said.

Mr Cleary, who is chief director to the office of the Administrator-General, was due to address a congress in Windhoek of the Interessengemeinschaft Duetschsprachiger Suedwester, a German interest group.

He said in a speech prepared for delivery that South Africa was actively promoting the independence cause of SWA.

The Republic's only precondition for granting independence was that firm agreement should be reached on the withdrawal of Cuban military personnel from Angola,

which is SWA's northern neighbour.

Stable

"South Africa wants a politically stable, economically and administratively skilled, internationally recognised, independent neighbouring state."

Mr Cleary said the political dispensation in SWA had been of lesser importance to the Western contact group when it negotiated the settlement plan, embodied in UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978.

The purpose of the West at the time was to resolve the dispute in order to avoid having to choose between "two equally unacceptable options."

The West either would have had to veto a UN sanctions resolution against South Africa "at an unacceptably high political cost" or the West would have had to agree to sanctions against South Africa and a deterioration of its economic ties with the Republic.

"Today's circumstances are different, and hopefully we have learnt something from the Zimbabwean experience," Mr Cleary said.

There were a growing

number of leaders in Africa who were no longer convicted of the need for an armed struggle by Swapo in SWA and there was increasing pressure on Swapo to change to "a political course."

"Swapo is a heterogeneous organisation," Mr Cleary said.

"There are undoubtedly Swapo members who sincerely believe their organisation offers the best assurance of early independence for Namibia.

"But the institutional Swapo is something different."

The organisation described itself as part of the "world revolutionary process," consisting of the established socialist countries, the "international workers' class movement and the national liberation movement."

Peoples' war

Swapo had explicitly declared its intention of leading SWA after independence into a Marxist society based on the principles of "scientific socialism," and to turn the pre-independence armed struggle into a "peoples war."

Since 1966, more than 1 000 SWA civilians had died in Swapo's liberation

struggle, while more than 2 000 civilians had been maimed or forcibly abducted.

"Africa is weary of revolution and violence," Mr Cleary said.

"Between 1952 and 1983, 70 heads of state and government have been unseated in 29 African states through coups d'etat, assassinations or military intervention."

A peaceful transition to independence in SWA would be possible only if Swapo could be "physically" persuaded of the futility of a revolutionary armed struggle, and of its Marxist-Leninist principles.

South Africa would continue using its military power to protect the people of the territory and if Swapo persisted in its armed campaign, the movement would be "hurt more than up to now."

Mr Cleary said "open dialogue" had become necessary in SWA's heterogeneous society to help formulate a constitutional system that would accommodate all the communities in the immediate future.

CSO: 3400/2160

ALLEGED ATROCITIES BY SADF DETAILED IN SHOCK DISCLOSURE

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 28 Aug 84 p 1

[Article by Tony Weaver]

[Text] WINDHOEK.--Shock allegations of widespread atrocities against civilians in South West Africa's Kavango war zone by members of the South African Defence Force were made yesterday.

Mr Hans Rohr, the outspoken leader of the Roman Catholic Namibia Christian Democratic Party, alleged that in the past six weeks:

--Four members of a family were shot dead and two wounded;

--A man was abducted by South African soldiers posing as Swapo guerrillas;

--A schoolboy investigating the abduction of his uncle was shot dead by South African troops; and

--At least 20 cattle were indiscriminately shot dead by troops.

A spokesman for the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) said yesterday: "We cannot comment at this stage as we must first investigate the allegations and establish the true facts."

Last night an SADF spokesman said he had nothing to add to the SWATF statement.

At a Press conference in Windhoek, Mr Rohr told journalists that on the night of Wednesday, August 15, and the early hours of August 16, South African troops, allegedly from 32--or Buffalo--Battalion, razed a kraal at Gawa in the western Kavango war zone.

He alleged the troops, thought to be black and under the command of a white officer, gunned down and killed Mrs. Barbara Kaziku; her son, Mr Rafael Gerhard; Mr Gerhard's son, Rafael Gerhard Jnr, 3; and an eight-year-old relative, Rudolf Erasmus.

As Mr Gerhard's wife, Floria Camillus, their daughter, Salina, 12, and their baby son fled the scene, the troops allegedly opened fire, wounding Mrs Gerhard in both legs and severely wounding both children.

The kraal was then burnt to the ground "to destroy evidence".

"It was at night. The people were sleeping and there were no Swapos with them, Mr Rohr said, adding that he believed SWA radio had reported that the kraal had been "attacked by Swapo".

On July 20, Mr Rohr said, Mr Petrus Hausiko was riding on his horse near Cuncana, south of Nkurenkuru. Soldiers allegedly shot the horse and abducted him. He has not been seen since.

His nephew, Aloes Katamba, ran to investigate the shots, Mr Rohr said, and "was shot dead by the security forces. He was an unarmed civilian".

Mr Rohr said that on July 12 Mr Johannes Mukuve was allegedly abducted by a group of men wearing Swapo uniforms. However, "his mother and others saw the men were wearing South African army boots".

The people of his village, Cuncana, followed the spoor of the men and "they found the tracks of a Buffel vehicles to which the spoor led". (A Buffel is a troop carrier used by the SADF.)

He alleged that in recent weeks soldiers had shot dead about 20 cattle, "the only wealth these people have", in the Nepara Mpungu and Cahenge areas.

"This is intimidation and the people have been told they have to keep their cattle in their kraals until 10am each day. The soldiers say that if the cattle are not in the kraals, they will shoot them."

Mr Rohr further alleged that towards the end of July a schoolboy, whose name he did not yet have, was shot and wounded by troops also in the Cuncana area. The boy was now in hospital in Rundu.

Mr Rohr said he wished to address the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, through the media and said: "We have waited and suffered for too long. We want to know what these actions are aimed at--an election soon? To force people to vote for the DTA or the Multi-Party Conference?"

He emphasised that he was "totally satisfied " the details he had given were true.

--The SWATF has confirmed that two children were killed and two injured when the kraal in the Owambo war zone was mortared by South African troops on Sunday night.

A spokesman said the bombardment had been an "accident" and that a police and military inquiry had been launched.

The mortars fell on a kraal 3km from Ogongo during "a routine fire pattern exercise", the spokesman said.

ROHR ALLEGES SADF ATROCITIES

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 28 Aug 84 p 5

[Article by Tony Weaver]

[Text]

WINDHOEK. — Shock allegations of widespread atrocities against civilians in the Kavango war zones by members of the South African Defence Force were made here yesterday afternoon by Mr Hans Röhr, the outspoken leader of the Roman Catholic Namibia Christian Democratic party.

Mr Röhr alleged that in the past six weeks:

A family of four had been gunned down and two members of the family wounded;

A man had been abducted by South African soldiers posing as Swapo guerrillas;

A schoolboy investigating the abduction of his uncle had been shot dead by SA troops; and

At least 20 cattle had been indiscriminately shot dead in the Kavango zone by SADF troops.

A spokesman for the South West Africa Territory Force said yesterday: "We cannot comment at this stage as we must first investigate the allegations and establish the true facts."

At a hastily called press conference in Windhoek late yesterday afternoon, Mr Röhr told journalists that on the night of Wednesday,

August 15, and in the early hours of August 16, South African troops, allegedly from the notorious 32, or Buffalo Battalion, razed a kraal at Gawa, some 50km south of Nkurenkuru in the western Kavango war zone.

He alleged the troops, thought to be black and under the command of a white officer, gunned down and killed Mrs Barbara Kaziku, her son, Mr Rafael Gerhard, a teacher, Mr Gerhard's son, Rafael Gerhard jnr, 3, and an eight-year-old relative, Rudolf Erasmus.

As Mr Gerhard's wife, Floria Camillus, their daughter, Salina, 12, and their baby son fled the scene, the troops allegedly opened fire, wounding Mrs Gerhard in both legs and wounding severely both children, Mr Röhr alleged.

No Swapo

The kraal had then been burnt to the ground "to destroy evidence".

"It was at night, the people were sleeping, and there were no Swapos with them," Mr Röhr said, adding that he believed SWABC radio had reported that the kraal had been "attacked by Swapo terrorists".

On July 20, Mr Petrus Hausiko had been riding

on his horse near Cuncana, south of Nkurenkuru. Members of the security forces shot his horse from under him, and "abducted him", Mr Röhr said. He has not been seen since.

His nephew, Mr Aloes Katamba, a pupil at the Nkurenkuru senior secondary school, ran to investigate the shots and "was summarily shot dead by the security forces. He was an unarmed civilian".

On July 12 Mr Johannes Mukuve was allegedly abducted by a group of men wearing Swapo uniforms. However, according to Mr Röhr, "his mother and others saw the men were wearing South African army boots".

The people of his village, Cuncana, followed the spoor of the men and "they found the tracks of a Buffel vehicle, to which the spoor led". (A Buffel is the troop carrier used by the SADF).

Mr Röhr said: "The local people saw how Johannes was forced to walk in front of the Buffel and made to climb on board. He has still not been released."

He alleged that in recent weeks, members of the army had shot

dead about 20 cattle, "the only wealth these people have", in the Nepara, Mpungu and Cahenge areas, all lying in a 50km semi-circle from Nkurenkuru, which is 120km west of the Kavango capital of Rundu.

Schoolboy shot

"This is intimidation, mainly, and the people have been told they have to keep their cattle in their kraals until 10am each day. The soldiers say if the cattle are not in the kraals, they will shoot them. But sometimes they have their cattle out of the kraals for two to three days for grazing."

He further alleged that, towards the end of July, a schoolboy whose name he did not yet have, had been shot and wounded by troops, also in the Cuncana area. The boy was now in hospital in Rundu, he said.

Mr Röhr said he wished to address the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, through the media: "We have waited and suffered for too long. We want to know what these actions are aimed at — an election soon? To force the people to vote for the DTA or the Multi-Party Conference?"

DIFFICULTIES OF CEASEFIRE NEGOTIATIONS EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 31 Aug 84 p 10

[Article by Peter Honey: "None of the Options Appeals to SWAPO"]

[Text]

When is a ceasefire not a ceasefire? Or to put it another way, why are people still dying in a war which both antagonists say they want to end? This is the question facing Namibia as South Africa and Swapo prepare to talk once again about a ceasefire.

Last month's talks on the Cape Verdes failed mainly because the two parties could not agree on the meaning of the word "ceasefire". They could break down again for the same reason.

South Africa wanted a unilateral ceasefire from Swapo, which would lead to a "cessation of hostilities". Swapo wanted to see its military forces signed into a formal agreement plan, resolution 435.

Pretoria wouldn't do that partly because it refuses to recognise Swapo as an opponent in a war and partly because it won't accept a UN presence in the territory while Cuban troops remain in Angola.

The impasse is rooted far deeper than mere semantics, because if South Africa's expectations are met it would amount to a forced admission by Swapo that it had lost the war.

In exchange, Swapo would have to return to Namibia and "take part in the democratic constitutional process" — a flowery phrase which in effect means debunking the UN and joining the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) in a constituent assembly to thrash out an independence constitution before an election.

Even if Swapo agreed to end the war — which seems unlikely in the current climate — it would probably regard the political option on offer with as much revulsion as the very regime it has fought for the last 18 years.

Its leaders literally fear returning to a political formula which they believe has been tailor-made by their erstwhile oppressors.

Swapo spokesmen say they are convinced the MPC is a Pretoria-financed creation, designed to split the party or at least to water down its socialist principles.

Without any guarantee that its policies will be accepted by South Africa, Swapo also fears being reduced to just another Namibian political party, stripped of glamour and status as the territory's only true liberation movement.

Why, they ask, should they have endured exile and lost thousands of

fighters, only to be consigned to the level of political bargain-hunters?

But they may be left with little option.

There are mounting signs of pressure from several moderate African countries on Swapo to grasp the political straw. The impetus comes from South Africa's economic and military powers.

While the Nkomati pact appears to be strengthening, Pretoria claims the Angolan-South African disengagement process is in danger of falling apart. Reliable sources say South Africa is fully prepared to return to its military option in southern Angola — in spite of the American election — if Angola is unable to restrain Swapo guerillas.

The dilemma facing Swapo is manifest in that it knows all the options, and not one of them is attractive.

The South African position was spelt out by the Administrator-General's chief aide in Namibia, Mr Sean Cleary, in an address to the German Interessengemeinschaft last week.

If Swapo continues the war "it will be hurt even more than it has in the past", he said. He maintained that Swapo's popular support was not due to its Marxist policies, as espoused in its political programme, but because it was regarded as the most effective opponent to the unpopular status quo.

"The challenge facing all peace-loving and democratic-oriented citizens of SWA/Namibia is to convince

Swapo's followers that there is a faster and better path to independence (than the war)," he said.

While there was some truth in the belief that nothing politically effective could be achieved in the territory without Swapo, this was only true in respect of its supporters and not its constitution. There would not be peace unless Swapo could be "physically convinced that its revolutionary armed struggle was ineffective in gaining independence".

Mr Cleary said he believed this could be achieved if all the political, cultural and economic interest groups in Namibia could be unified under a common purpose for stability.

But he did not explain what would motivate such a common purpose while, at the same time, South Africa remained as an unpopular controller of the territory.

Some observers in Windhoek believe that once expectations of self-determination have been aroused in Namibia, South Africa's image in the territory will decline — with a proportionate drop in the effectiveness of its administration — the longer it remains in control.

This would pose a challenge to the Swapo leadership to harness the resultant discontent under its banner.

It was probably for this reason that Swapo proclaimed loudly after last month's failure at Cape Verdes that it was prepared to fight on "for a hundred years" if necessary.

If it sticks to this view at the next round of talks, South Africa might be expected to strike back militarily. And the tragic Namibian carousel would go back to its worn routine...
— The Star's Foreign News Service.

BRIEFS

SWA RAIL TAKEOVER--WINDHOEK--South West Africa is considering taking over the railway network from Sats, says the Administrator-General, Dr Willie van Niekerk. He told the Windhoek Rotary Club that transport was one of the most vexed economic problems facing the SWA. The R90m loss the railways had in the 1983/84 financial year was expected to rise in R95m this year. Investigations by Sats had led to a decision to close three SWA branch lines covering 613km and operating at an annual loss of R8,5m. In SA three branch lines had been closed and the future of another 95 uneconomical lines was in the balance, Dr Van Niekerk said. The loss by Sats on the service between Luderitz and Seeheini was more than R5m and that on the Gammams-Gobabis line R2,258m. The deficit on the Otjiwarongo and Outjo service was R1,229m. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 24 Aug 84 p 15]

MANPOWER BUREAU PLAN--WINDHOEK--The Department of Civic Affairs and Manpower has invited comment and representations on a draft proclamation published in Windhoek yesterday about the establishment of manpower bureaux in SWA/Namibia. The proposed legislature provides for the registration of all employers in the territory. The department's secretary, Mr N J Opperman, said yesterday that the main purpose of the bureaux was to bring job seekers and employers together. Data compiled from the project would be used at some future date to institute an employment insurance scheme and a pension fund for workers. Contributions to the pension fund would not be paid out to employees when they changed jobs, but the accumulated contributions would be used to provide for old-age pensions. The intention was to compel every employee in SWA/Namibia to contribute to the proposed pension fund but details still had to be worked out. [Text] [Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 23 Aug 84 p 15]

CSO: 3400/2160

FATE OF MISSING POLITICIANS UNKNOWN

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 16, 1 Aug 84 p 7

[Text] Former governor of Kano state, Abubak Rimi, has not been heard of for weeks. Rimi, his successor Barkin Zuwo, and other Kano politicians, were brought before the Kaduna-zone special military tribunal at the end of May and charged with various offences. (AC Vol. 25 No. 12). Zuwo was found guilty by the tribunal under Nay Captain M.A.B. Elegbede of receiving money, though he was found not guilty of passing on the money to the proscribed PRP. He kept it instead. The accused were sentenced to 21 June to long jail terms. (Zuwo got a further 69 years the following week for a variety of other offences).

Rimi was expected to appear in court as well on 21 June. But there was no sign of him, and no further public reference to him and his case. It is now rumoured that he might be dead, although it is unclear whether this suggestion comes from his adversaries--the emirs led by the Sultan of Sokoto and, among the military, the present Kano governor, Air Commodore Hamza Abdullahi--or from his supporters, many of the radical academics in Zaria's Ahmadu Bello university. Another ex-governor of the PRP--Balarabe Musa of Kaduna State--who was released after questioning following the coup, has been declared "missing" by his family. He too was an open enemy of the feudal system, and the first to abolish its taxes, which have now been re-introduced, to the disgust of Northern peasants. Governor Abdullahi has been widely accused of allowing Zuwo's political appointees to remain in office, thereby ensuring the reversal of Rimi's reforms. Abdullahi, who comes from the powerful Kano emirate of Hadeja, is favourably inclined to the plea made last month by the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Abubakar III, that chiefs be allowed to play a leading part in local government--the only type of representative institution the military are prepared to contemplate--rather than continue in the purely advisory function to which they were constitutionally restricted under civilian rule. Members of the Local Government Review Panel are considering the position of chiefs, particularly where they preside over well-organised tax-gathering courts.

Fears about Rimi--whose death would have serious repercussions particularly in Kano, Nigeria's most populous state--have been revived with the news that 61 out of the 900 suspects arrested after the February Maitatsine riots (AC Vol. 25 No. 6) died in prison before coming to trial. The Gongola state controller of prisons, Isaac Ojile Obeya, suggested that congestion in Yola may have been to blame. At the same time the authorities admitted to acute congestion in

Kaduna prison where 86 detainees (including, presumably, Rimi) are being held. They form a part of a prison population of more than 2,000 in a prison designed to hold 500. The latest decrees, which provide the death penalty for a large range of crimes, including arson and illegal oil trading--and 21-year sentences for cheating in school examinations--can only add to the difficulties of imprisoning large numbers of people who have until recently not been regarded as criminals.

CSO: 3400/2159

DETAILS ON 1984 BUDGET GIVEN

Johannesburg AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Jul 84 p 14

[Text]

Budget

The highest sectoral allocation of 549,200,000 naira in the recurrent expenditure of the revised 1984 budget has been approved for the Ministry of Defence, according to details released in Lagos by the Ministry of Finance. Dr Onaolapo Soleye (all figures in naira). Introducing the Federal Military Government's revised budget for 1984, the head of state, Major-General Buhari, said that his objectives were «to arrest the decline in the economy, to put the economy on a proper course of recovery and solvency, and to chart a future course for economic stability and prosperity».

To achieve these objectives, the government's budget measures, which he said were «to be taken as a first step», aimed to reduce government expenditure, reduce imports, stimulate agricultural production, resuscitate and streamline industries, stabilise prices and incomes, review and intensify implementation of the tax laws in order to broaden the revenue base, and restore confidence in the naira.

The policy objectives were constrained by continuing severe economic problems. In 1983 the Gross National Income had fallen by 4.4% to 28,500 million naira, due partly to problems with oil exports.

Details of the 1984 allocations approved for other ministries and departments also show that the least allocation of 83,570 naira goes to the Judicial Department. (1.07 naira = £ 1 sterling).

The National Universities commission has 443.8 million; Police 359.8 million; Information, Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture 284.2 million; Education, Science and Technology 272.4 million; Finance 224.9 million; Works and Housing 200.3 million; while the Cabinet Office has 167.7 million.

Others are: Health 139.05 million; Internal Affairs 100.00 million; External Affairs 93.05 million; Contingencies 85 million; Supreme Headquarters 54.8 million; Transport and Aviation 41.08 million; Agriculture, Water Resources Development 32.7 million; National Planning 24.6 million; Commerce and Industry 23.2 million; Mines, Power and Steel 15.9 million; Employment, Labour and Productivity 14.1 million.

Others are: Capital Territory 12.4 million; Justice 6.6 million; Public Complaints Commission 4.9 million; Federal Civil Service Commission 3.6 million; Federal Audit 3.4 million; Communications 1.2 million; and Police Service commission 666,630.

The Consolidated Revenue Fund charges, which cover pensions, gratuities and public debts charges amount to 2.89 billion and form an integral part of the recurrent expenditure, bringing the total figure to 6.07 billion.

In the capital expenditure estimate of 3.93 billion priority has been given to agriculture and other economic sectors. The sectoral allocations are as follows:

Rural development 132.02 million; agriculture (crops) 296.4 million; livestock 27.4 million; forestry 5.9 million; fisheries 2.08 million; mining and quarrying 43.9 million.

• The minister of finance, Dr Onaolapo Soleye, listed the 20 items exempt from payment of import duty as a result of the revised 1984 budget. Giving details of the budget at a news conference, the minister said that they included aircraft, their parts and auxiliary equipment imported by foreign airlines providing scheduled flights, as well as films for education, scientific or an approved education or scientific organisation. Other items, he said, included military hardware and uniforms, arms and ammunition.

PRODUCE EXPORT GROWS BY 63 PERCENT

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 7 Aug 84 p 1

[Text] EXPORT of Nigerian produce grew by 63.6 per cent in the first four months of this year as compared with the same period of last year. Cocoa, palm kernel and rubber enjoyed the boon.

Exported produce yielded N79.7 million, a rise of over N48.7 million more than what was earned in the same period last year.

The new administration adjusted producer prices to encourage increased farming activities, the result being the steep yield in produce, a journal, the Business and Economic Digest, published in its latest issue. The magazine quoted the Petroleum Intelligence Agency as its source.

Oil did not perform badly in the period reported as it earned a total of N2.5 billion for the country.

The figure shows an increase of 31.6 per cent as against N1.9 billion earned at a comparative period last year.

Nigeria exported 1.2 million barrel daily during the period being reported as against 900,000 barrels a day in the same period last year.

The magazine revealed that total import bill between January and March this year, amounted to N1.8 billion showing a decrease of 27.8 per cent when compared with the import bill of N2.3 billion in the first quarter of 1983.

The Economic Digest says the total external reserve of Nigeria was N886.4 million in April compared with N641.4 million in January 1984.

This clearly indicates a rise of 38 per cent over the four months period.

The magazine said though the final figures were yet to be released by the Central Bank, all preliminary indications point to a decrease in money supply as well as in the overall government expenditure since the Federal Military Government assumed power on December 31, last year.

The import bill of the first quarter of this year was N1.8 billion compared with N2.3 billion of the same period last year. It shows a decrease of 27.8 per cent, the magazine said.

SUCCESS OF LOCAL RICE EXPERIMENT REPORTED

Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 26 Aug 84 p 12

[Article by Haruna Izah]

[Text] THE Lake Chad Research Institute (LCRI), Maiduguri, established by the Federal Government in 1976, has successfully tested and experimented with three varieties of rice as part of its contribution toward increasing agricultural output in the country.

Mr. V.O. Sagua, told Sunday Triumph at an interview that the institute was engaged in agronomic research activities in order to find ways of developing better, high yielding crops, and livestock, taking into consideration the conditions of the state.

The director said that the three new varieties of rice experimented with are "IR. 28"; "IR. 30" and "TOS. 103".

According to him while the local or traditional variety of rice gives the farmer about two tonnes per hectare, the new variety produces about 5 to 6 per hectare.

Mr. Sagua explained that the new varieties have been released to the Chad Basin Development Authority and the state government.

The director stated that apart from rice, the institute had also successfully experimented with three varieties of wheat whose output per hectare "is three tonne that is normally realized from the local variety of wheat."

On other areas of activities being undertaken by the institute apart from crop development, Mr. Sagua said that they also engaged in livestock development. He said that the institute has developed poultry houses suitable for the extreme climatic conditions of the Lake Chad Basin areas. These poultry houses, according to the director, were constructed with local materials such as "zana" mats.

Asked what major problems the institute was facing, the director stated that the main problems were lack of adequate funds for carrying out research activities and insufficient scientific manpower.

The decree establishing the institute charged it to conduct research into, among other things, the hydrological behaviour and characteristics of Lake Chad and the limnology of the associate surface and ground waters; the abundance, distribution and other biological characteristics of species of fish in the lake, the improvement of the method of control of dry farming and livestock husbandry in the severe environment condition around the Lake.

CSO: 3400/2159

REPORTAGE ON MILITARY, INDUSTRY, TRAINING

Johannesburg AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Jul 84 pp 14-15

[Text]

• **The Defence Industries Corporation (DIC)** is to produce shells, mortar and anti-tank ammunition at the completion of the current expansion of the industry scheduled for the end of this year, the minister of defence, Major-General Domkat Baly, said in Lagos. Briefing newsmen on the activities of the Ministry, Major-General Baly said «it is quite a shame that up till now Nigeria had no industry for the production of explosives». He said that the new range of arms envisaged for production at the DIC would be in addition to the present products of the industry, which include rifles and the 12.7mm bullets.

On the proposed conversion of the Nigeria Defence Academy (NDA) into a university, Major-General Baly said that the programme was still on and that the first set of students for the institution would be admitted in September if the current expansion of facilities at the institution met with standard requirements. The Minister said that the NDA, the Naval College and the Air Force training school would be part of the proposed university.

The minister said that emphasis on the production of training facilities locally, would cut down on foreign exchange costs and minimise the maintenance cost of equipment.

He stated that though financial allocation to the Defence Ministry in the current budget was «hardly adequate for its needs», the Ministry would have to make do with what it had because it was competing with other sectors of development in the allocation of resources.

The minister said that it was desirable to set up an African High Command, pointing out that the main obstacles against an African defence pact were economic and political. He noted that some African countries were virtually dependent on foreign powers economically.

On the phasing out of illiterate

soldiers from the army by 1987, the minister said that it was envisaged that by that time those recruited into the army without basic education would have been taught to read and write or they would be retired from the army.

• In order to enhance domestic training for members of the armed forces, the existing training institutions will be expanded and equipped. The new armed forces university arising from the upgrading of the Nigerian Defence Academy will play a vital role in the training of all cadres of the armed forces. Army training areas and ranges will be developed. The navy technical and professional training schools as well as other specialist training institutions will be developed to reduce dependence of the navy training abroad. Similarly the Nigerian air force training school for aircraft maintenance and the local training programme will be expanded to cut down on dependence on foreign facilities in these areas.

The financial provision for defence in 1984 is designed to enhance the manufacture and assembly capacity of the defence industry co-operation. It is expected that with the completion of the ongoing expansion later this year, a reasonable proportion of the small arms requirements of the armed forces will be produced locally. Research will be stepped up to consolidate the steady progress towards diversifying the range of defence equipment in the country.

Police. This government will ensure that the priorities of the police are reordered with a view to achieving the goals expected of a viable police force, in terms of efficient performance, effectiveness and regarding the confidence of the populace. To this end, adequate provision has been made in this year's budget to cater for barrack buildings and maintenance, for the purchase of operational equipment, for improvement of training facilities, for transport and communications, uniforms and the enhancement of the welfare of the men

NIGERIANS TO UNDERGO TRAINING IN INDONESIA

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 17 Aug 84 p 9

[Text] ABOUT 20 Nigerians are to undergo vocational training courses in Indonesia under a technical assistance programme existing between the two countries.

The beneficiaries who are drawn from various government establishments will receive instructions in areas such as agriculture, leather and woodworks.

Disclosing these facts in Lagos while commemorating his country's 39th independence anniversary, the Indonesian Charge d'Affaire, Mr. Situmorang said the sending of some Nigerians to Indonesia was one of the ways of promoting mutual understanding between the two countries.

Mr. Situmorang pointed out the similarities between Nigeria and Indonesia which he said, "could be put to greater advantage". Talking about the agricultural prowess of his country, Mr. Situmorang said success had been achieved in the field of rice production because "we tapped all available resources".

He said the feat had also been achieved through the deployment of extension workers to farms all over Indonesia, not only to coordinate all farming efforts but to offer expert advice on when best to start planting food crops.

"At the moment, we have a rice reserve of three million tonnes with storage being out only problem" he said.

CSO: 3400/2159

BRIEFS

NIGER BORDER OPENED--Nigerian Minister's comments on passports and prisons. The Federal Military Government (FMG) has ordered the temporary opening of the Nigeria-Niger border, the Internal Affairs Minister, Brigadier Mohammed Magoro, announced in Lagos. Brigadier Magoro also announced that the current embargo on the issuance of passports would remain in force to facilitate the reorganisation of the passport office. Brigadier Magoro said that 47 prisons were under construction in all parts of the country to ease the present prison congestion. He suggested that the police speed up their investigation of pending cases as more than 40% per cent of the prison inmates are still awaiting trial in various parts of the country. --Call for protection of Nigerian fishermen near Cameroon border. The Nigerian agency said the Cross River State Military Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Dan Archibong, had called on the Navy to protect Nigerians in villages along the border with Cameroon; at a meeting with the commander of NNS Enyimiri, Lieutenant-Commander Akano, he had said there had been reports of brutality and terrorism against Nigerian fishermen in the area. [Text] [Johannesburg AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English 19 Jul 84 p 17]

SOVIET COOPERATION TALKS--The Soviet ambassador said that the Soviet government would "accelerate construction" and production at the Ajaokuta iron and steel plant; the envoy had called for a renewal of talks on bilateral cooperation. [Text] [Johannesburg AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English 19 Jul 84 p 17]

ELF OIL--More exploration. Elf (Nigeria) is to drill 11 oil wells in Nigeria's Anambra state as part of its current exploration programme, Managing Director P. Godec has said at Enugu, the state capital. He was confident Anambra would become an oil-production state when the drilling operations are completed. [Text] [Johannesburg AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English 19 Jul 84 p 17]

DEFENSE MINISTER'S COMMENTS--The desirability of an African High Command was expressed by the Nigerian Defence Minister Bali at a meeting with journalists to tell them about his Ministry's activities. The government has recently signed a new agreement, the second, with the Belgian firm FN Herstal for the installation of a production unit for the FAL assault rifle, scheduled to start production by the end of the year. For the past two years, the FN has been retooling the Kaduna plant that once turned out Beretta BM-59s. The USSR has offered Mig-23 combat aircraft to the Nigerian Air Force (NAF). The NAF

is also in the process of building new air bases at Enugu and Yola. The Army has shown interest in the Swiss-made Mowag Piranha 6 X 6, equipped with the Hot anti-tank missile made by Euromissile (France--W. Germany) mounted on a UTM-800 turret. [Text] [Johannesburg AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English 19 Jul 84 p 17]

UK DELIVERS TANKS--The UK's Vickers Defence System expects to complete delivery of a £50 million (\$69,2 million) package of military equipment in February 1985. The equipment includes about 40 Vickers Mark III battle tanks, as well as bridgelayers and armoured recovery vehicles. The contract was signed in August 1981 by the previous civilian administration and deliveries began two years ago. The contract is backed by the UK's Export Credits Guarantee Department (ECGD). Vickers says there has been some delay in payments on the contract but that this is unlikely to hold up deliveries. The company believes the government will give priority to payments on overseas orders for the military. The government of Head of State Major-General Muhammadu Buhari has stepped up defence spending, with a total of 928.2 million naira (\$1,281 million) allocated to defence spending, with a total of N 928.2 million; allocated to defence in the fiscal 1984 budget. Buhari himself visited Vickers' Newcastle-upon-Tyne plant in November 1982, when he was brigadier commanding the Army's third mechanised division at Jos. [Text] [Johannesburg AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English 19 Jul 84 p 15]

CSO: 3400/2159

WIDE GULF IN ATTITUDES UNCOVERED BY ELECTIONS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 24 Aug 84 p 12

[Article by Allister Sparks]

[Text]

The most striking thing about the coloured and Indian elections is the gulf they have revealed between white and black political attitudes.

Ten months ago the whites voted by a two-thirds majority to approve Mr P W Botha's new "reform" constitution. It was the greatest victory in South Africa's political history.

Now more than two-thirds of the people for whom this "reform" is intended have shown that they reject it. Denied a referendum such as the whites had, the only way they could demonstrate their rejection was by boycotting the elections.

Only 30 percent of the coloured electorate voted. Since only 60 percent of eligible coloureds were registered, in real terms the poll was 18 percent. That makes it the most overwhelming defeat ever inflicted in a national poll in this country.

How can there be such a discrepancy?

Ameen Akhalwaja, a perceptive black journalist, explained part of it in an article in the *Sunday Express* last weekend when he wrote: "If you are being oppressed, the view from below is quite different from the one at the top."

True, but I suspect there is more to it than that. White and black South Africans don't just live on different upper and lower levels. They live in totally different and hermetically sealed worlds.

Apartheid has succeeded to such an extent that they are completely divorced from one another, psychologically as well as physically, so

that they have not the faintest idea what is going on in one another's hearts and minds.

For decades the white Government has been formulating policy according to its own conception of what blacks really think and want — and there have always been enough blacks around, attracted by the rewards of collaboration, to tell the policy-makers that they are right.

That, then, forms the framework not only of the policy structure but of the political debate that surrounds it, so that nothing else is heard and in the end even white opponents of the Government begin unconsciously to think within the frame of reference set by the formulators' basic conception.

Meanwhile, the black South Africans carry on living in their own quite different world, ignoring this white political debate which bears no relation to their reality, thinking their own thoughts, dreaming their own dreams, smouldering with their own grievances and coming to their own decisions which the whites neither know nor ultimately even care to hear about.

For most of the time the mutual incomprehension continues behind the separating walls of the apartheid society. Nobody notices because nobody is intercommunicating. When they do meet it is on such a white paternalist/black survivalist basis that nothing is transmitted either way.

But once in a while something happens that reveals the gulf. Like when even the most enlightened white businessmen of this subcontinent, having spoken to their tea boys and chauffeurs, decided that Abel Muzorewa was the man to back in Zimbabwe's independence elections, only to find themselves horribly, embarrassingly wrong.

There follows a moment of shamefaced realisation of how hopelessly out of touch they are. But soon, as Hamlet might have put it, this becomes sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. Time and rationalisation paper it over and the stereotyped attitudes return.

Within a few years those selfsame enlightened white businessmen are concluding that Mr P W Botha's new constitution, despite its manifest shortcomings, is really a step towards a better deal for the black people of South Africa.

Nobody bothers to ask the black people whether they think so too. There is no referendum to test their feelings and few whites seem to find this strange.

A handful of newspaper writers warn about black opposition, but nobody listens. The moderate Chief Gatsha Buthelezi thunders away, but nobody hears. And who even knows about the radicals? All eyes are on brave P W who split his party to take a step in the right direction. Hooray for him.

Now the coloureds and Indians have spoken and P W has egg on his face. Just as well the Africans didn't have a chance to speak, too, or he'd be submerged in the stuff.

Will anyone learn the lesson? I doubt it. The boycott leaders have been detained for six months. Half a year of silenced opposition in which to set up the new Parliament and let the new MPs with their 118-vote backing get entrenched and start looking familiar. By then time and nationalisation will have done their work once more and attitudes will be back to normal.

GOVERNMENT REPRESSION OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS HIT

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 26 Aug 84 p 6

[Article in "Percy's Itch" column: "United Democratic--But No Front--or Yet Another Shot in the Foot!"]

[Text]

TALK about people's capacity to shoot themselves in the foot. Boy, they have done it again.

Without batting an eyelid and without any scruples, they simply lurked in the darkness, waiting for the first signs of dawn to show and then they pounced -- throughout the country.

How on earth Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange is going to justify the massive detention of anti-vote campaigners is beyond me. But then the action was not unexpected.

Veteran watchers of our political scene saw it coming -- so it was no surprise when people were hauled out of bed and taken to prison.

The agenda is always the same. It starts in the corridors of the SABC -- from where scathing attacks are levelled against political opponents.

Then the theme is taken over by the various candidates and Government agencies.

Then it gets topped by an irate and scathing attack from the Minister. The scene is then set for the grand finale.

This time, it was no different. Remember it was the SABC

that first came out with accusation that the United Democratic Front was a front for the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

The theme was repeated by a number of candidates and the Minister merely put his stamp on the grossly defamatory accusation.

And then it happened.

More than 37 people were taken into detention under some section of the Internal Security Act which allows them to be held for up to 48 hours.

It may well be that the Minister had information or evidence that warranted the action. We are all waiting for him to bring the accused to court and charge them for those actions.

My guess is that, after 48 hours, the whole election hullabaloo will be over and the people

will be released and nothing heard about the whole affair again.

Surely the Government should be encouraging the move towards full democratic political participation in this country. The people who want to participate in the elections have a right to do so.

But people also have the democratic right to encourage boycotting such elections if they feel the whole thing is a farce.

As I saw it all along, the UDF and all the other organisations that opposed the elections, have had peaceful rallies. Nowhere did I hear any of them advocating violence. So why the arrests.

All South Africans will watch in suspense to see if the actions taken against the various leaders merited it.

★ This paper has been watching with considerable alarm how the police are increasingly invoking both the Police Act and the Protection of Information Act to delay publication of

happenings around the country.

It happened to us again on Saturday morning when we tried to get their version of what had happened in Mapetla — where a house was lambasted with police fire.

The inevitable reply came — we request you not to publish since "investigations are at an advanced or delicate stage" or words to that effect.

Understandably, we saw red. We are not taking this lying down anymore. We sent the Police Directorate a telex which made our sentiments absolutely clear.

First of all, what happened in Mapetla was already public knowledge to a large section of the Soweto population. Everybody was talking about it in shebeens, trains, by telephone and what-have-you.

But we were expected to put out a half-baked story that bore no resemblance to what actually took place in that area.

Fortunately our anger did not go unnoticed. They obliged in the end, and gave us their version of what took place.

Even that is still a matter of considerable investigation by this paper. There are more questions than answers.

We warned about these laws when they were first enacted. Our fears were quite justified.

And those people who make a habit of shouting at the top of their voices that there is a free Press in this country, must take cognisance of the serious problem that is developing in reporting events.

This is not the first time it has happened. It happened quite recently when the Sisulu clan was detained. We did not report it that Sunday because the police requested us not to.

And, as every editor knows, if you decline the request, they can move in with either the Police Act or the Protection of Information Act.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF ELECTIONS EXAMINED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 1 Sep 84 p 10

[Article by Hermann Giliomee: "Constitution's Two Paths Towards 'State Efficiency'"]

[Text]

THE TIME has come to review the coloured and Indian elections within a broad political and social context.

To maintain its goal of firm control over a stable and efficient state the Government has pursued two distinct yet related strategies.

Politically, it has embarked on the co-optation of selected ethnic groups as junior partners rather than individuals or classes along the formula of universal or qualified franchise.

Instead of opening the political arena to everyone, the Government wants to move one step at a time, starting with the coloured people and Indians and later moving on to the urban blacks.

The key in this strategy is to limit each political incorporation to a limited and thus manageable number of people.

The second strategy has aimed at keeping the number of browns and blacks in the cities down to a minimum.

By restricting brown and black urbanisation in various ways (limiting housing stock, razing squatter camps, pass controls and encouraging industrialists to switch from labourers to ma-

chines) the Government hopes to create a stable core of urban insiders.

They must be small enough not to constitute a threat but affluent enough to develop an interest in policies aimed at keeping out rural outsiders who may undercut their wages.

Put differently, they must be willing to help the Government to keep Africa out of the cities.

The new constitutional dispensation is a crucial test not only for the first but actually for both these strategies.

It is generally recognised that the poll for the coloured and Indian chambers was a vital indication as to whether the junior partners would be willing to play their allocated role.

What was less generally realised was the bearing of the polls on the second strategy as well.

A sufficiently high poll, particularly in the cities, would indicate that the coloured and Indian urban insiders are prepared to accept both piece-meal political incorporation and to use the new representative institutions to protect urban middle class interests which, in the case of whites, means keeping rural outsiders out.

If this double context is

borne in mind, the significance of the election results becomes clearer. The poll of just over 30% for the coloured House and 20,2% for the Indian one is high enough to give the two new chambers a certain measure of respectability and legitimacy.

However, a closer analysis of the make-up of the coloured poll reveals that not only must the overall percentage be seen as disconcertingly low but that it also rests on a "wrong" social and regional base.

In regard to the overall poll, Professor Nic Olivier, head of the Progressive

Federal Party research division, points out that Mr F W de Klerk earlier this year indicated that there were approximately 1 500 000 potential coloured voters.

Of them approximately 900 000 registered. And of this latter figure fewer than 300 000 actually voted... in other words, less than 20% of the potential voters.

The Labour Party actually does not command the support of more than 15% of the potential voters.

Even more telling are the figures for Cape Town, the urbanised heartland of the coloured community.

Only 5% of the eligible voters in Cape Town went to the polls. This is significantly lower than the figures for the old CRC.

Whereas in the 1975 CRC election some 44 270 coloured people in Cape Town voted only 25 110 did so on August 22 in spite of the growth of the coloured population in the city.

The middle-class stayed away almost *en masse*.

Thus while higher polls were registered elsewhere the Cape Town coloured community has

unambiguously signalled its refusal to have part in a political dispensation that excludes and divides people on the basis of race.

The main support for the new constitutional deal came from the working class and the rural areas, but it is not clear that these are the groups the Government is seeking to co-opt, particularly if we bear in mind the second strategy — that of stemming urbanisation.

In this connection it is of particular importance to consider the impact of the remorseless state action in recent years against squatters in the Cape Town metropolitan region.

The coloured urban insiders clearly have not seen this as Government action on their behalf.

After all, a mere seven years ago it was coloured squatter camps that were being razed in Cape Town.

Ironically the low poll has put the Labour Party in a stronger position that it would otherwise have been.

The poll indicates that the coloured community as a whole, and the middle class of Cape Town, do not consider the new dispensation to be satisfactory.

This means that the Government will have to do something to provide the Labour Party with a broader and particularly an urban base.

As a very first step the coloured urban middle class demands the reform of the Group Areas Act and the racial sex laws.

There are indications that Mr P W Botha himself has decided that the Mixed Marriages Act and Immorality Act should go.

This will be a dramatic

symbolic move that will considerably enhance the legitimacy of the new Parliament.

Ultimately, however, not much progress towards peaceful accommodation will be made until the Government realises that the strategy of stemming urbanisation will fatally undermine its strategy of political incorporation.

In the new dispensation the Labour Party will fatally compromise itself in the eyes of the coloured middle class if it condones the razing of squatters by the state in Cape Town and beyond.

The Government would be ill-advised to jeopardise the tenuous position of the Labour Party through continuing with the hard line on influx control.

The vital fact white SA must confront is that influx control has become both a moral and political cancer.

Key Government advisers are beginning to realise it.

A verligte Nationalist MP, Mr Wynand Malan, has recently stated that the Government must replace its influx control policy with an urbanisation policy.

The time has come for the Urban Foundation to commit itself publicly to the principle that every person in SA has the right to urbanise.

As long as people are excluded from our cities and political institutions on the basis of race there is little hope of better polls at coloured and Indian elections and a genuinely new political dispensation.

Real political incorporation can only occur on the basis of shared values and interests — and influx control is not among them.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES' POWER STRUGGLE DESCRIBED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 2 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by Ticks Chetty, Boetieshak and Norman West]

[Text] THE power struggle for control of the House of Delegates has become a frantic race against time.

But by yesterday the Solidarity Party seemed to have the edge over the National Peoples' Party in attempts to woo the Independents and others into its ranks.

Solidarity and the NPP, which won 17 and 18 seats respectively in the House of Delegates elections, need at least 21 to swing control into their hands before Tuesday when they enter the new parliament.

The four MPs who have become the focus of attention are Mr K Ramduth and Mr R Mohangi, Independents; Mr F Khan, leader of the Progressive Independent Party; and Mr A E Lambert, who stood as a Labour Party-sponsored Independent.

Mr P C Nadasen, who won Maritzburg's Allandale seat as an Independent with the backing of the NPP, has since announced that he would join the NPP.

Final Decision

Meanwhile, Mr Narantuk Jumuna, who won the North Coast constituency as an NPP candidate, said yesterday that he was considering moving to Solidarity.

"I won through my own efforts and not on a party ticket," Mr Jumuna said.

"If I join Solidarity it would be largely because of the backlash there has been from the community to the NPP-controlled Indian Council's undue interference in Indian education and its attitude towards teachers," he said.

The NPP, as the majority party in the SAIC, was responsible for educational matters.

Mr Jumuna said he would make a final decision at the weekend.

There is also a possibility of Mr Mohangi, who won the Tongaat seat and who is Mr Jumana's cousin, joining Solidarity.

"I am still on the fence. But I would like to be where my cousin, Jumuna, is. I wouldn't like to let him down," he said.

Mr Mohangi said he would consult with the Committee of 60, which helped him in his election campaign, before coming to a decision.

Mr Ramduth, a retired headmaster who won the Clare Estate seat, said he had been offered the Education Portfolio by Solidarity and the NPP.

He denied earlier newspaper reports that he had demanded to be put in charge of education in the House of Delegates in exchange for his support for either party.

Key Man

"I am still considering my position," Mr Ramduth said.

Education is termed an "own affair" under the new constitution.

If Mr Jumuna and Mr Mohangi decide to join the Solidarity, the party would have 19 MPs and the NPA 18.

But the man with the key to ending the impasse may be Mr A E Lambat.

There is speculation that Mr Lambat could be persuaded by the Labour Party to join Solidarity--but for a favour in return.

It is said that part of the deal would be for Solidarity, if it then commands the majority, to nominate Mr Salam Abram-Mayet, an Indian member of the Labour Party's Transvaal executive, to the House of Delegates or put his name forward for nomination to the new President's Council.

CSO: 3400/2165

ELECTIONS RAISE DOUBTS OVER VALIDITY OF HSRC SURVEYS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Sep 84 p 11

[Article by Gary van Staden]

[Text]

Human Sciences Research Council data released at the weekend have again put the spotlight on the validity of such surveys, especially when the data base, as used in this survey, reflects a narrow slice of the communities involved.

The survey dealt with trends and opinions prevailing in the coloured and Indian communities shortly before the elections for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates on August 22 and August 28.

The validity of survey data is dependent on several critical factors, not least of which is the so-called "random sample".

For survey findings to be a valid reflection of the true opinions of the communities concerned, the sample must include respondents from all sections of the community and in proportion to their overall numbers.

In other words, if verified data from previous surveys indicate that 99 out of every 100 members of a certain community are living below the poverty line then 9 out of every 10 respondents in any new research must be of the same economic standing or the findings of such research will not be valid.

The "random sample" selected by the HSRC for its latest survey appears to be suspect.

HOUSING

It is an accepted empirical

fact that a massive housing shortage exists among the coloured and Indian communities with official waiting lists for the Johannesburg area alone running into thousands.

It is also an accepted empirical fact that the present unemployment rate, particularly among coloured people, is unacceptably high.

Yet an average of only 12,5 percent of coloured and Indian respondents in the latest HSRC survey saw the housing shortage as a problem while an average of 26 percent — more than double — cited the economic troubles of the country as its major problem.

These findings would seem to peg the average survey respondent as a homeowner with an above-average stake in the economy, perhaps a small business. By no stretch of the imagination can such a respondent be regarded as "average" in the respective communities.

Without exception the coloured and Indian political parties said during the election campaign that poverty and the low standard of living of their respective communities were in need of urgent attention.

The overall picture the coloured political parties have of the state of their communities is thus not reflected in the survey data.

DISPUTED

Another hotly disputed claim

is that the majority of coloured people and Indians would prefer a white man — Mr P W Botha — to be their leader.

In fact, according to the survey, 93 percent of Indians and 87 percent of coloured people would prefer either a white man (not necessarily Mr Botha) to lead them or were unsure how to answer the question. Only the remaining seven percent and 13 percent of the respective communities said they wanted a man of colour (including black) to lead them.

Other favoured white leaders were Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, and Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Of the coloured respondents 37,3 percent named Mr P W Botha as their number one choice while 41,5 percent of Indians selected him.

It would be logical to assume that, as those respondents preferred Mr P W Botha to any other leader, the majority of them would have voted for his new constitution. But, as both percentage polls were well below the support pledged for him, they apparently did not.

Another survey finding contradicted by election results is the support the survey found for the leaders of the two main Indian political parties — the National People's Party of Mr Amichand Rajbansi and Mr J N Reddy's Solidarity Party.

According to the survey, Mr Rajbansi was more popular than Mr Reddy. Yet the two won nearly equal support from the 20 percent of Indians who voted in the election.

The survey found almost no support for Mr George Sewpersadh, of the Natal Indian Congress. But newspaper reports indicated that thousands of people were attending meetings called by the NIC while the participating parties were attracting a few hundred at best.

Again the "random sample" may account for this disparity. Most of the support for the NIC came from young people who were apparently neglected in the sample.

CONFIRMED

On the other hand, the coloured community's support for the Rev Allan Hendrickse, as documented by the survey, was confirmed by the election results. The research findings were that 25 percent of the coloured respondents supported Mr Hendrickse — and that is roughly the support his Labour Party won from the electorate on polling day.

Of the 30 percent of coloured people who voted, all but two percent voted Labour.

The survey sections which deal with support for the new constitution are almost impossible to evaluate.

NO INDICATION

The reasons for this are the high percentages of "don't knows" and those who support only sections of the new constitution with no indication as to what those sections are.

There are no data available to point out which direction the above two categories took on polling day. But the percentage polls indicate that they did not vote.

This, in turn, contradicts another section of the survey which found increasing support for the new constitution as polling days drew closer.

The final percentage polls recorded, in fact, are far lower than previous HSRC survey data indicated.

Dr Nic Rhoodie, project leader and the person directly involved with the sample selection, was not available for comment yesterday.

Exclusion of Blacks Reason for Low Polls

The exclusion of blacks — not intimidation or apathy — was probably the biggest single factor contributing to the low percentage polls in the recent elections, according to Human Sciences Research Council data released at the weekend, writes Gary van Staden.

According to the survey results the rejection of the new deal by both the coloured and Indian communities was centred on the neglect of black political aspirations.

An average of 53 percent of the coloured and Indian respondents interviewed during the HSRC survey said that blacks should have been allowed to participate in the new dispensation.

The breakdown for the two communities of those who wanted blacks included in the new deal was 49,9 percent of coloured people and 56,5 percent of Indians.

These findings are supported by another section of the survey in which the combined figures for total rejection of the new constitution and those who "supported only sections of the new deal" tally at 45 percent for the coloured people and 55 percent for the Indians.

BLACK ASPIRATIONS

An overview of these findings would seem to indicate that the neglect of black political aspirations, and not intimidation or apathy, was

responsible for the rejection of the new deal by the coloured and Indian communities.

Only 16,4 percent of the coloured respondents and 16,7 percent of Indians interviewed unconditionally accepted the new constitution. On the other hand the figures for total rejection in the respective communities are also low — 15,9 percent and 14,8 percent.

The majority of respondents said they accepted "sections" of the constitution and, read with the community feelings on black participation, it is clear that this was the biggest single factor in the failure of the new deal at the polls last month.

An average of 33 percent of respondents from both communities told interviewers they were not sure whether they supported the new deal. From the percentage polls recorded by the elections it is clear that when it came to a decision the majority of this group opted not to vote.

Full survey findings under the heading "Black participation" were (in percentages):

Coloured people:

Blacks must be included: 49,9;
Blacks must not be included: 24,1;
Unsure or don't know: 26,0.

Indians:

Blacks must be included: 56,5;
Blacks must not be included: 30,1;
Unsure or don't know: 13,5.

Housing Not Such a Problem for Some, Says Survey

An average of only 12,5 percent of coloured and Indian respondents in a recent Human Sciences Research Council survey named the housing shortage as a major problem in South Africa — a finding that would seem to indicate that the survey sample consisted mainly of middle to upper class people, writes Gary van Staden.

The housing shortage was a major issue during the recent election campaigns for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, with every single political

party involved addressing the issue.

WAITING LIST

Yet only 13,5 percent of coloured people interviewed during the HSRC survey, and 11,6 percent of Indians, mentioned the housing shortage as a major problem in South Africa.

The official waiting list for a house in Lenasia is just over 5 000 while the larger coloured areas such as Eldorado Park, Western, Bosmont and Reiger Park have official waiting lists in the region of 4 000 names each.

The low priority allocated to housing by the respondents would seem to indicate that most have a house.

The fairly well-off economic standing of the respondents is also indicated by the high priority they gave to the economic situation as a major problem in South Africa today.

ECONOMY

Of the coloured respondents, 25,7 percent felt the nation's economy was a cause for concern while 26,5 percent of Indians supported them. The importance attached to the economy is only slightly lower than that attached by the two communities to the problem of apartheid.

Of the coloureds interviewed, 29,9 percent said apartheid was South Africa's major problem and among the Indians the figure was 28,8 percent.

The concern of the respondents over South Africa's economic plight suggests that the majority of them have a stake

in the financial well-being of the country and their apparent lack of concern for the housing shortage appears to show that this area does not affect them.

Both these findings suggest that the respondents were mainly middle to upper class people. An equal cross-section of lower, middle and upper class respondents would have resulted in the housing shortage receiving a higher priority.

Education, another major issue among the political parties which contested seats in the tricameral Parliament, was not isolated by the survey but put together with general problems in the category "Other".

The full findings of the survey under the heading "Biggest problems in South Africa" were (percentages):

Coloureds: Apartheid 29,9; Economic situation 25,7; Housing 13,5; Other 30,9.

Indians: Apartheid 28,8; Economic situation 26,5; Housing 11,6; Other 33,1

RESEARCH SHOWS SHARP DROP IN SUPPORT FOR CP, HNP

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Aug 84 p 4

[Article by Andrew Beattie: "SA's Far Right is a Paper Tiger"]

[Text] Publicity given to the Afrikaner Volkswag has given a misleading impression of the movement's actual strength and prominence among Afrikaners. Fears of a rampant right-wing in the party political sense are unfounded.

These are the conclusions of Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the University of Natal, set out in a recent issue of Indicator South Africa. They are based on nationwide surveys and other research.

The spectre of a right-wing resurgence has been raised by a recent Human Sciences Research Council survey.

This found that most Afrikaans-speakers wanted to retain cornerstones of apartheid such as the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act, the Group Areas Act, separate education, black homelands and separate voters rolls.

White South Africans are more aware of the ultra-conservative Afrikaner Volkswag than Inkatha and the United Democratic Front, according to the HSRC survey.

But Professor Schlemmer concludes, on the basis of opinion surveys, that the right-wing Conservative Party has had more newspaper coverage than it deserves.

Internationally oriented Afrikaner leadership has been ousted from office by more conservative nationalist movements twice in South Africa's history. Right-wing reaction toppled Botha and Smuts in 1924, and Smuts and Hofmeyr in 1948.

Today, writes Professor Schlemmer, the National Party is far less neglectful of its Afrikaner cultural constituency than Smuts's United Party.

From the time of the establishment of the Conservative Party until February 1984, the National Party has increased its support from 43 percent to 54 percent, according to statistics compiled by Mark-en-Meningsopnames (Pty) Ltd.

The Progressive Federal Party has dropped from 22 percent to 17 percent, but the drop in the combined support for the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) has been even more dramatic--from 21 percent in April 1982 to only 13 percent early this year.

"A more realistic concern is that the ossified conservatism within the NP's structures will drag its promises of reform to a standstill, and perhaps even force a reversal if the new multi-chamber Parliament proves to be problematic or threatening to NP sentiments," says Professor Schlemmer.

Nevertheless, he has found in a survey that there is a trend to reform in the National Party voter group.

"In a nationwide survey conducted in collaboration with Marken-Meningsopnames (Pty) Ltd conducted in October last year (sample 2 000 adults, urban and rural) we found that among Afrikaans--speaking NP supporters, only 12 percent felt that sufficient reform had taken place, or that change had gone too far as regards racial affairs.

"As many as 38 percent of Afrikaans NP-supporting men felt that the tempo of change should increase, even if whites have to make sacrifices," writes Professor Schlemmer.

In the same study, only 18 percent of the Afrikaans NP supporters felt that the Prime Minister Mr P W Botha should try to win back support from Dr Andries Treurnick's followers.

Substantially more felt that Mr Botha should collaborate with black and coloured leaders.

CSO: 3400/2165

OPERATION, SUCCESS OF 'NEW DEAL' EXAMINED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 30, 31 Aug, 3 Sep 84

[Three-part series by Chris Freimond]

[Text]

WITH THE coloured and Indian elections over, the new Parliament is on the verge of being formally constituted.

The new structure, which will meet for the first time next week, will comprise three racially separate Houses, the MPs having been elected on racially separate voters rolls. There will be:

● A House of Assembly for whites with the same composition as the present House of Assembly — 166 directly elected members (76 from the Transvaal, 56 from the Cape, 20 from Natal, and 14 from the Free State), four nominated by the State President, and eight elected by the MPs. It will meet in the existing Assembly chamber.

● A House of Representatives for coloureds comprising 80 directly elected members (60 Cape, 10 Transvaal, five each Natal and Free State), two members nominated by the President and three elected by the MPs. It will meet in the old Senate chamber.

● A House of Delegates for Indians comprising 40 directly elected members (29 Natal, eight Transvaal, and three Cape), two members nominated by the President and three elected by MPs. It will meet in a

specially converted debating Chamber in the Marx Building, across the road from Parliament.

An 88-member electoral college drawn from the three Houses (50 whites, 25 coloureds, and 13 Indians) will elect and executive State President who will not be a member of any of the Houses. Nominations for State President will be called for at a meeting of the electoral college.

The members of the electoral college will, with little doubt, be members of the majority parties in the three Houses.

The whites will have an overall majority in the electoral college so it stands to reason that the State President will be the National Party's nominee — the current Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha. The State President will not be a member of Parliament.

The electoral college will also elect a Speaker who will be the Speaker of Parliament as a whole.

There will also be chairmen of the three Houses elected by members of the Houses. They will perform similar functions to the Speaker when he is not presiding in a particular House.

Neither the Speaker nor the chairmen will take an active part in party politics.

The State President will

appoint a Cabinet to oversee "general" affairs affecting all South Africans, and Minister's Councils for each House to deal with the "own" affairs of that particular group. The President will also appoint chairmen of the Minister's Councils.

There will therefore be a "super" Cabinet — possibly multi-racial — for the more important affairs of State, and ethnic Cabinets which will have powers to deal only with matters affecting their particular racially designated group.

However, all Ministers will have the same status and be entitled to the same salaries and benefits.

Each House will establish select committees — appointed for the duration of the session — and standing select committees — for the duration of the life of the House — to perform specified functions related to legislation.

Select committees from all three Houses sitting together to consider "general" affairs issues will be called joint committees. Standing select committees meeting together for the same purpose will be called standing committees.

Bills on "general" affairs will be submitted to the joint or standing committees after introduction by the Speaker.

The committees will then thrash out the detail of the measures and amend them until majority "consensus" can be reached.

The committees are expected to meet mainly behind closed doors. Their reports will be presented to the three Houses through their component select or standing select committees.

A President's Council will be established comprising 20 members designated by the House of Assembly, 10 by the House of Representatives, and five by the House of Delegates. They are all likely to be nominees of the majority parties.

There will also be 25 members appointed by the State President. They will include 10 designated on a proportional basis by the opposition parties in the three Houses on the basis of six whites, three coloureds and one Indian.

The Council will elect its own chairman. It will assist the President with advice whenever necessary and can act as a deadlock breaking body in disputes between the three Houses. It will meet in the renovated Goede Hoop Theatre near the parliamentary complex.

The Constitution contains a schedule of "own" affairs which the Government believes is the exclusive business of a particular racially

designated group and over which neither of the other two Houses will have a say.

These areas include social welfare, education at all levels, art, culture and recreation, health matters, community development, local government, agricul-

ture, water supply, appointment of marriage officers, and finance in relation to "own" affairs.

The President also has powers to decide whether a matter is an "own" affair or not if there is a dispute over it.

[31 Aug 84 p 8]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA'S new Constitution makes provision for what must rank as one of the most complicated legislative systems in the world.

The key to the system is consultation — probably behind closed doors — between representatives of the three racially separate Houses of the new Parliament.

Proposed laws will no longer be introduced in Parliament by a Minister or — on rare occasions — by a private member.

Bills will now be submitted to the Speaker. This can be done either in or out of a parliamentary session.

Bills introduced in this way will be deemed to have been read a first time.

The most complicated side of the new system will involve Bills on "general" affairs, that is to say proposed laws affecting all South Africans and not exclusively whites, coloureds or Indians.

It is at this stage that various committees to be established by Parliament will come into play.

There will be four types of committees:

- Select committees appointed by a particular House for the duration of the session to investigate a specific matter or Bill on which the House needs information or assistance.

- Standing select committees appointed by a House for the duration of Parliament to work in conjunction with standing select committees of the other Houses on particular issues.

- Joint committees will be

three select committees from the different Houses working together on a specific task.

- Standing committees will be three standing select committees from the different Houses working together on ongoing issues.

Opposition MPs from the three Houses will be represented on the committees, but they will be dominated by MPs of the majority parties.

Unless all three Houses of Parliament agree not to refer a Bill to a standing committee, it will be considered by such a committee before its second reading.

An appropriation Bill will be referred to a standing committee after the budget speech.

After a Bill has been considered by a standing committee concerned with that particular issue, reports on the committees workings will be submitted to each House.

The standing committees will attempt to reach majority consensus on a Bill after which it will be introduced for its second reading at a joint sitting of all three Houses.

This is mainly to save time to enable a Minister to make only one second reading speech and not one in each House separately.

However, there will be no debate at a joint session and no decisions will be taken. The second reading debate on a Bill will be in each House separately.

The Minister concerned with the Bill will be allowed to attend and participate in the debate in each House, but will only be allowed to

vote in the House of which he is a member.

Amendments may be moved during second reading debates and a Bill may be resubmitted to a standing committee or considered by the Houses in committee.

If the amendments moved in committee meetings or in the House in committee are agreed to, the amended Bill will be submitted to each House for a third reading.

If the three Houses cannot reach majority consensus on a Bill, it may be referred by the executive State President to the President's Council for advice or a decision.

If he asks for advice, the Council may suggest changes which it considers might make the Bill acceptable to all three Houses. The advice need not be followed.

If he asks for a decision, the Council must decide which of the various versions of the Bill (as favoured by one of the three Houses) it believes is the best.

In such a case the decision is binding on the State President and the three Houses and that version will be deemed to have been passed by Parliament and will become law.

However, even if asked for a decision on a Bill the Council may decline to give a decision and offer advice instead which would not be binding.

The State President may withdraw the referral at any time before the Council gives its decision.

A Bill on "own" affairs will also be introduced by submitting it to the Speaker and will then be deemed to have been read a first time.

The Bill must be accompanied by a certificate signed by the State President certifying the matter is an "own" affair of that particular group.

Any amendments to the Bill must also be certified as "own" affairs by the State President.

An "own" affairs Bill will not be dealt with in any way by the other two Houses.

Although the Constitution contains a Schedule of "own" affairs setting out which areas are the exclusive concern of the three Houses, any question as to whether a matter is an "own" affair or not may be decided by the State President.

Before making his decision he may refer the matter to the President's Council for advice.

The State President must assent to all Bills whether "own" or "general" before they can become law.

The Constitution's architects believe open conflict between the Houses will be kept to a minimum because compromise and consensus and will be the orders of the day in the Cabinet — where draft legislation will be born — and in the standing committees.

As is the case at present the courts will only have the power to test whether the procedure laid down in legislation had been carried out before any action in terms of the legislation.

The courts are not empowered to test the validity or merits of legislation or decisions by legislators.

[Text]

IN MANY ways South Africa is today being launched into the political unknown.

The implementation of the new Constitution heralds a unique and untested system of government.

It is probably fully understood by only a handful of people outside the small group of constitutional experts and politicians who drafted it.

And while the theory of how the new system will work is complicated enough, what will happen in practice is subject to wide and varied interpretation.

The National Party believes the Constitution opens a new door on "democracy" in South Africa and is the most dynamic political reform in the country's history.

It is true that the "democratic" base of government has been widened by giving coloureds and Indians an equal — but racially separate — vote in an enlarged — but racially separate — tri-cameral Parliament.

It is also true that coloureds and Indians will have an input into proposed laws affecting all South Africans and will apparently have an increased degree of control over issues exclusive to their groups.

But the vast black majority is excluded from the "new deal", and the most despised aspects of apartheid are the pillars of the Constitution and will remain so according to the NP.

Further, whites — and more specifically, the NP — will retain ultimate power through unbeatable majorities at virtually all levels of the legislative process.

The only area where an NP majority is not yet certain is in the joint and standing committees of the new Parliament. Representatives of all three Houses will sit on the committees, but their exact composition must still be determined.

However, it is unlikely that the Nationalists will allow themselves to be over-ruled or outvoted on any key issues at any stage in the new process.

Even in the NP's worst possible scenario which might see majorities in the coloured and Indian

Houses rejecting proposed legislation, and all opposition MPs in the white House voting against it, the executive State President could use the Nationalist-dominated President's Council to approve the measure and it will then be deemed to have been approved by Parliament.

Although such a situation is highly unlikely because the NP will be keen that "consensus" be seen to win the day as often as possible, it shows an NP need to retain the ultimate "safety value" of absolute power.

For the majority parties in the coloured and Indian Houses, the new system could pose particularly thorny problems. They will in effect be partners in government with the National Party.

It is likely that leading figures in the biggest coloured and Indian parties will either be included in the "super" Cabinet for "general" affairs, or be entrusted with other senior executive positions.

As such, they will be jointly responsible for government policy which, at least for the immediate future, will remain Nationalist policy--the very thing many of them have vowed to destroy from within Parliament.

Their credibility is obviously on the line. The election results showed they were unrepresentative of their groups--in some cases hopelessly so.

There is considerable opposition to their participation which had divided not only their own communities, but also set many of their former allies in black communities against them.

They now run the risk of being totally co-opted by the Nationalists, or finding themselves in a state of constant confrontation with the NP which could cause the system to collapse.

A third possibility--and the only one as far as the NP is concerned--is that

"consensus" politics will succeed and that negotiation and the tempering of demands to accommodate the political circumstances will dominate.

In this way, it is hoped, not only the needs and aspirations of coloured and Indian communities will be accommodated, but the wider problem of black political accommodation will also become easier to solve.

However, the political realities of the day could overwhelm "consensus" politics.

The need to attend urgently to the real problems facing the country could leave little time for the gentle nursing the new system will undoubtedly demand.

No one has really discussed what will happen if the new system does not work -- probably because no one really knows.

Another unknown -- and worrying -- factor is the role of opposition parties under the new system.

The NP claimed a need to move away from the Westminster-type parliamentary system because it was based on a "winner-takes-all" principle and promoted inter-party confrontation.

However, the new Constitution apparently leaves even less room for formal opposition and seems to

perpetuate the "winner-takes-all" system with the three majority parties forming a "winners" coalition in terms of which they will take all.

There will be Official Oppositions in each House and opposition MPs will be represented on the President's Council and in the joint and standing committees, but how effective they will be and the results of their input remains to be seen.

It is also not clear how much debate on fundamental issues will be heard in the open as opposed to closed committee meetings.

Provision is made for public debates at which opposition parties will undoubtedly air their views, but the detail of behind the scenes deals and negotiations on proposed laws is likely to remain hidden from voters.

How long it will take before the success or failure of the new Constitution can be measured and against what this will be done also remains to be seen.

But at least one thing is for certain, time is not on South Africa's side.

If the new Constitution is going to work, it will have to work quickly so that those in power can -- if they are able -- address themselves to the real issues of political and social reform.

If it does not work...

ISRAEL HONORS MAYOR OF JOHANNESBURG

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 31 Aug 84 p 5M

[Text]

JERUSALEM — The Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr Eddy Magid, who is a veteran of the Israeli independence war, was an honoured guest at the School of Armour in Israel yesterday.

Mr Magid is on a week-long visit to this country at the invitation of the SA Zionist Federation and the Tel Aviv Municipality.

PARADE

He presented the Armoured Corps with an invitation he received 34 years ago to take part in the unit's first parade.

Mr Magid was received by the Prime Minister, Mr Yitzhak Shamir.

He gave the premier a plaque of the Municipality of Johannesburg.

He also gave Mr Shamir a button containing a replica of the mayoral seal.

He is meeting the mayors of major cities in Israel before he returns home on Friday.

CS0: 3400/2165

COMMENTARY ON UPHOLDING OF 'OBSERVER'S' APPEAL

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Sep 84 p 10

[Editorial: "Nudes in the News"]

[Text]

SOME SANITY has been brought into South Africa's crazy censorship system by Professor Kobus van Rooyen, chairman of the Publications Appeal Board. If we must have a Publications Act, and if all its restrictions have to be applied in Namibia as well, then let us have a man like Professor van Rooyen and his board to ensure that the law is at least correctly interpreted.

The board has, to a large degree, upheld the appeal of *The Windhoek Observer* by ruling that not all future editions of a newspaper may be declared undesirable in advance. That is normal commonsense — something which the Cape Town publications committee lacked when it imposed its ridiculous ban. But who can blame the committee men? Once you accept the task of deciding arbitrarily on other people's morals, you are almost certain to make a fool of yourself. It is the law that is at fault.

In the instance of *The Windhoek Observer*, now back on the streets, the Publication Board's task of restoring sanity was especially invidious. In any case, why should Pretoria lay down the law to supposedly independent Wind-

hoek? (Obviously, because Pretoria's writ prevails in Windhoek.) How can one rule on nudes and news simultaneously? The Board ruled that each future edition of the newspaper had to be evaluated on its merits. To assume that just because the newspaper had contravened the Publications Act in the past it would automatically do so again in future was an argument which didn't hold water. Nonetheless, the board warned *Observer* editor Mr Hannes Smith to take heed and not to contravene the Publications Act blatantly by printing nude photographs or material which placed Swapo in a favourable light. It cautioned that some of the material printed in issues gone by was on the verge of breaking the law. But until such time as the paper breaks the law again no publications committee can stop it from publishing.

Censorship itself has been rescued by this verdict. But many questions remain, not the least of them concerns the heavily increased deposit of R40 000 which new newspapers can be forced to provide the State. This regulation in itself is a direct restriction of freedom of speech which the public should never tolerate.

CSO: 3400/2165

DUTCH EMBASSY HITS AT 'MEDDLING' CLAIMS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 Aug 84 p 5

[Article by Mauritz Moolman]

[Text] THE Dutch Embassy in Pretoria yesterday hit back at a claim by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that a public document of the Dutch government interfered in the internal affairs of South Africa.

Mr. Joseph Weterings, Second Secretary to the Dutch Ambassador to SA, said the embassy was "surprised" by the "dust now being kicked up" by Mr Botha's "disclosure", since the document had been available for more than two months.

Furthermore, the Dutch government was "disclosed" by Mr Botha and SABC-TV on Wednesday night.

Mr Botha said the aim of the document, entitled "Bevordering van Veranderingsprosess in Zuid-Afrika" ("Promoting the process of change in SA"), was aimed at distribution in the coloured community; to make people conscious of injustices; to identify organisations opposing the system and to channel aid to them.

A study of the document released to the Mail by Mr Weterings, showed, however, that apart from Afrikaners, coloureds have only been identified as information targets because they were as accessible to information as Afrikaners, due to the similarity between Dutch and Afrikaans languages.

As far as financing of projects is concerned, the document states that the financing of bursaries for black students and high school pupils in SA will be continued.

Also to be continued will be assistance to humanitarian causes among South Africans such as judicial assistance to the "persecuted" literacy programmes, community awareness programmes and projects to assist the emancipation and training programmes of non-white labour unions.

Mr. Wetering said the document, available to anyone who asked for it and not only to coloureds as had been suggested, was to be put before the Dutch parliament in November and could influence the Dutch government's policy on SA.

PHOTO CAPTION

A relevant section of the document which triggered SA claims of interference by the Dutch government reads: "Contact will be pursued to inform people about ideas which encourage a fair and democratic society. With this, in fact, use will be made of the position of the Dutch language which is accessible to a large number of South Africans and which, specifically, includes the coloured people of SA."

CSO: 3400/2165

ROLE OF ZIONIST MOVEMENT IN SA SURVEYED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 30 Aug 84 p 12

[Article by Marcus Arkin, director general of the South African Zionist Federation: "An Anchor of Zionism, in South African Waters"]

[Text]

THE South African Jewish community, numbering about 120 000, has always been known for its staunch Zionist outlook.

When Zionism as a political movement got under way in the late 19th century, it encountered little opposition from Jewish groups and individuals in this country, in strong contrast to what happened elsewhere.

One reason for this is that South African Jewry is predominantly homogeneous in its Lithuanian origins, and the "Litvaks" were especially active in the early pre-Herzl phase of Zionism within the Tsarist Empire.

Moreover, the local community has been fortunate in the sense that successive Governments have always displayed a positive and sympathetic attitude to Zionist endeavour: General Smuts was an ardent champion of the Balfour Declaration and the concept of Jewish statehood; Dr D F Malan was the first Foreign Prime Minister to visit Israel; and the present Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in an interview with the "Zionist Record", has spoken of the "special relationship" the community has with Israel in terms of spiritual and cultural ties — which, he added, "has no bearing on the loyalty which I know our Jewish citizens hold for

South Africa".

The primary aim of the Zionist movement remains the "ingathering of the exiles", the worldwide encouragement of "Aliyah" (permanent settlement in Israel).

South African Jews who go to Israel do so for a variety of reasons and are drawn from the entire spectrum of the community. At least one-third are young unmarrieds, many of them students, who proceed to the Jewish State with the intention of pursuing their studies and exploring at first hand the prospects of such permanent settlement.

Within this category, too, are graduates from the Zionist youth movements, many of whom are attracted to the "kibbutzim", on which they have pioneered a number of significant innovations.

Recent decades have witnessed a growing involvement of ex-South Africans in all aspects of Israeli life: in medicine and the academic world (including many fields of pure and applied research), in politics, the judiciary, journalism and the diplomatic corps — in all these spheres and others the South African impact has been profound.

In fact, visitors to Israel from other parts of the world frequently express astonishment when they learn how small the South

African segment of the population is (about 15 000), since so many prominent positions are held by them.

But, in the ultimate analysis, Zionism is about survival — the continuity of Jewish peoplehood and civilisation, and in the Western world today (including South Africa) the principal threat to such continuity comes not from anti-Semitism and persecution, but from assimilation.

Under modern secular conditions and mass urban living (over 80% of SA Jewry is to be found in the environs of Johannesburg and Cape Town), it is only too easy for the individual to slip out of his or her Jewish identity. Judaism in all its ramifications is one way of life competing against many others, and it no longer suffices to appeal to tradition or ritual.

Zionism in South Africa, however, has provided an anchor for Jewish ethnicity. For almost a century, continuous involvement in the many different facets of Zionist endeavour has given the great majority of Jewish South Africans a cohesiveness that has been an ever-present bulwark against loss of identity.

Organisationally, too, the Zionist movement in this country is unique. The SA Zionist Federation serves as an umbrella body for all facets of the movement, which includes the fund-raising arms (like the Israel United Appeal and the Jewish National Fund), the Maccabi sports organisation, the Women's Zionist Organisation of SA and various youth movements; the SA Union of Jewish Stu-

dents, too, has close links with the Federation.

Hence, in contrast to the situation, say, in Canada or the United States, where Zionist activities are fragmented among many small and competing bodies, the SA Zionist Federation directly or indirectly assumes responsibility for all aspects of Zionist endeavour and for the entire range of the community's many-sided relationship with Israel.

In the field of public relations, the Zionist image of the Jewish community is positive and well-received among the white sector of the population. Yet there have been instances of old-fashioned anti-Semitism gaining fresh virulence under the guise of anti-Zionism, although in this regard the authorities have banned offensive literature on the grounds that (to quote one recent Publications Appeal Board decision), "such a substantial number of South African Jews identify themselves so much with the Jewish national cause" that publications of this sort must be deemed harmful to race relations.

The Zionist public relations problem with regard to the non-white majority of the population is complicated by the fact that evidence has been found of links between the terrorist Palestine Liberation Organisation and the African National Congress.

Black opinion, ill-informed about Zionism's role as a national liberation movement (the oldest and perhaps the most successful in terms of the obstacles it had to surmount) and an

easy dupe of anti-Israel propaganda (much of which filters in from PLO offices in Maputo and Harare), is apt to conjure up a Frankenstein-like monster of an "oppressive axis" between Pretoria and Jerusalem.

To counter such dangerous misconceptions, the Zionist Federation is attempting to establish much closer contacts with black, coloured and Indian journalists, university personnel, religious leaders and other opinion-formers, while taking care to remain aloof from local political issues.

Zionism is a movement; it has never been static. Continually, it has had to adapt itself to changing circumstances or face the danger of becoming an outmoded ideology, unrelated to the practical needs of the Jewish people. And nowhere in the Jewish world has this process of constant adaptation been more successful than in South Africa.

But the 1 000 or more Zionist delegates and observers nationwide who will be conferring together over the next few days are fully conscious that they cannot rest on their laurels.

At grassroots-level, many Jews today tend to take Israel for granted after 36 years of Jewish statehood. It is an attitude that spells not only danger for Israel, but for the Jewish people as a whole, since the liberating role of Zionism has been the manner in which it has enabled that people to some degree — after so many centuries of deprivation and persecution — to become the shapers of their own destiny.

SWAZI CHIEFS WISH TO SECEDE FROM KANGWANE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 31 Aug 84 p 11

[Article by Jo-Anne Collinge]

[Text]

A dissident group of Swazi chiefs has made a plea to be allowed to secede from kaNgwane.

The chiefs claim that the homeland Government is dominated by Shangaans and that the granting of self-governing status will confirm Shangaan power.

The outgoing Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, will formally confer self-government on kaNgwane today.

The group also sees Pretoria's abandonment of plans to hand kaNgwane to Swaziland and the granting of self-government to the homeland Government as contrary to the interests of Swazis in South Africa.

The 10 chiefs, comprising the Swazi Council of Chiefs of South Africa, have told the South African Prime Minister, MR P W Botha, that, if the South African Government has abandoned the Swazi border adjustment, they wish to secede from kaNgwane and come directly under the jurisdiction of the Department of Co-operation and Development. The council is headed by Chief Johannes Mkolishi Dlamini of Embhuleni.

"Why is the South African Government forcing Swazis to be ruled by Shangaans?" the chiefs ask.

They maintain that Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza is avoiding the appointment of Swazi chiefs "who appear to be supporting the border adjustments".

They argue that the right to appoint and dismiss chiefs should never have been delegated to the Chief Minister and should have remained the function of the South African State President "who is above politics".

The council of chiefs supports strict ethnic separation and describes kaNgwane as the biggest "conglomeration" of groups.

"All this is the present Government's policy — why is it not implemented fully when it comes to the Swazis?"

Mr Mabuza has indicated that he will not seek to restrict residence in kaNgwane to any particular ethnic groups.

He plans to grant all people born there automatic citizenship and to consider sympathetically applications from displaced people.

RETRACTION ON RUTH FIRST MURDER STORY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Sep 84 p 11

[Text]

In the interests of fair reporting and in terms of its own code of standards, *The Star* wishes to retract a detail of an article it published concerning allegations that the KGB murdered Ruth First. The allegation, which remains on record, is that she was murdered on the instructions of communists because she was causing trouble as a Trotskyist ideologist who disagreed with Marxism.

The report stated: "This incredible accusation comes from British and American sources and is based on new information and a thesis."

However there is a moral issue concerning the report which *The Star* wishes to put right. We erred in reporting more than the general allegation and in naming an individual against whom no charges had been formulated, and who had not been given the opportunity to answer allegations which have since been denied on his behalf. (He may not be quoted).

We do not normally name individuals in these circumstances, and we should not have in this case, especially when that individual had no legal redress.

Our error came about because *The Star* originally published the allegations that Ruth First was killed by a bomb planted in Maputo by a South African unit. (Allegations that a letter bomb was sent to Ruth First by "the agents of the apartheid regime" were repeated in Maputo again last week)

We believed it necessary to publish the opposite case: the counter-accusation, internationally sourced, that she was killed — not by South Africans — but by people directed by Moscow.

We regret that in aiming at reporting both sides of the issue in accordance with our code of standards, we nevertheless failed in this peculiar instance to maintain our normal standards for protecting individual rights.

We publish this statement to correct the record.

GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF 'URBAN BLACKS' DISCUSSED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 2 Sep 84 p 23

[Article by Frederik Zyl Slabbert: "Now for the Blacks, But You Can't Kraal Them Off into Rural and Urban"]

[Text]

WHAT to do with the "urban blacks"?

It is extraordinary how politically aware whites have managed to give this question a political career of its own. As if "urban blacks" constitute a constitutional and political problem that can be solved on its own.

Thus: "We have solved the problem of the whites and the coloureds and Asians (have we?), and the rural blacks, and now, what about the urban blacks?" (The Prime Minister at the National Party Free State Congress).

If we insist on posing the question in this way and then begin to search for a constitutional "step in the right direction" we will repeat exactly the same mistake that we made with regard to the "constitutional solution" for coloureds and Asians.

That is to take the status quo for granted and then to graft a new constitution on to it and pray for goodwill and a miracle.

Already the Government approaches the new parliament like a novice does a one-armed bandit at a casino; it is going to keep on feeding it (our) coins in the hope that it will hit a political jackpot.

Implicit in the phrase "urban blacks" are a number of major political assumptions which flow from one of the most costly and unsuccessful experiments in grand social engineering, namely, separate development.

Let us not beat about the bush. If the Government assumes that:

- Its policy of homelands becoming independent sovereign states is not negotiable; and

- Therefore that all blacks must exercise their final rights of citizenship within, or as members of such states and the "solution" for "urban blacks" must be "linked" to the homelands; and

- The problem of influx control is simply one of finding acceptable administrative and legal machinery to distinguish between "urban insiders" and "rural outsiders"; then

- There is no viable and durable "solution" for the "urban blacks".

To first demand that "homeland leaders", or "urban black leaders", or other opponents of the Government must accept these points of departure and then invite them to participate in finding a "solution" for "urban blacks" is to expect the impossible.

Why? Because these assumptions are totally unrelated to the demographic, economic, social and political forces shaping South African society for the next two decades.

Take a very simple point: There are no "urban blacks". Only black people living in the metropolitan and urban areas.

We do not think of "urban whites" as constituting a separate constitutional and political entity and we would be totally ridiculous if we did.

That is why we could accommodate the urbanisation of the Afrikaner and the "poor white" problem in a fairly rational economic and social manner.

We certainly did not start off by saying: "You have no right to be in

the cities, so let us see how we can solve your problem." If we did, we would have had a civil war on our hands. (Makes you think, doesn't it?).

In other words, there are a host of social, economic and commun-

ity problems that arise out of the increasing presence of black people in our cities and metropolitan areas that can be approached in fairly low-keyed and sensible ways.

For heaven's sake, we are not the only quasi-Third World country experiencing large-scale urban migration.

But such attempts cannot first be subjected to political assumptions that deny any chance [of] these problems being tackled successfully.

Over the last 20 years a wealth of research material has become available about the problems of urban planning, housing, job creation, local government and metropolitan control in Latin America, Africa and the East from which we can learn a great deal.

I do not believe there exists any model or formula that we can transplant holus-boius into South Africa, but I do believe that there are many mistakes we can avoid repeating.

But, and this is an important "but", if we are forced to look at the problems of black urban influx, housing, freehold, allocation of land for residential and commercial purposes, the desired ratio of people to land, local community and government structures, and so on, through the spectacles of grand apartheid and separate development, then we cut ourselves off from a host of comparative resource materials which could be very useful in solving these problems.

Why? Because some of the fundamental assumptions of grand apartheid or separate development simply deny the reality of urbanisation and urban migration.

So what is to be done? There is no magic formula, no single act of political ingenuity that can redefine "the problem" in more manageable terms, simply because we do not have only one problem.

We have a combination of problems and they interact and affect one another.

There is the problem of unplanned urban migration, the problem of economic inequality and racial discrimination, the problem of a massive housing

shortage, lack of social and community infrastructure and of course, the problem of political domination.

I think it is fair to say that the political problem overshadows and impinges on all the others so that is where a start will have to be made.

First and foremost, trust and confidence will have to be restored and the initiative must come from Government.

There are many blacks, and unfortunately their numbers are growing, who no longer believe in evolutionary or reformist change; who distrust the whole idea of "the politics of negotiation".

But the evidence still shows that the majority prefer to negotiate rather than resort to unconventional and violent means of change.

I have no doubt that so-called homeland leaders will use the structures already created to explore new initiatives, whereas they certainly will not use them to be coerced into old and unworkable ones.

Equally, there are many local black bodies in the urban areas in labour and community organisations which could be mobilised to co-operate in finding new ways of coping with urban and rural problems.

But they need a sign from the Government, an indication of a change of heart, a fresh declaration of intent.

It is not enough to appoint a Cabinet committee; its terms of reference must grab the imagination and evoke trust and co-operation.

I believe that if such terms of reference made it clear that:

● The Government was prepared to reconsider the question of black South African citizenship

● The Government accepted that blacks had the right to urbanise like anyone else and sought co-operation from them to help control and organise problems that could arise out of urban migration, overcrowding, housing and community development, and

● The existing system of influx control was going to be phased out, then

● The climate for the "politics of negotiation" would change dramatically and almost instantaneously.

But under no circumstances must the Government in the absence of such a declaration of intent, impose hastily concocted constitutional formulae based on the status quo on black urban communities.

This is precisely what they did with their concoction for coloureds and Asians and that is why we are stumbling from an old crisis of legitimacy into a new one.

Following such a declaration of intent, the Government must delegate and decentralise responsibility to cope with problems of urbanisation to the various urban and metropolitan areas and charge them to find new "initiatives" in terms of such a declaration of intent.

The Government must also be prepared to accept that some urban areas will, for obvious reasons, differ from others in the way in which they are going to cope with these problems.

Some areas may lag behind for racist, political or infrastructural reasons, but those that go ahead can generate new insights in coping with old problems.

Above all, accept that the goal is to stabilise urban and metropolitan communities and not to make some "fantastic grand design" work.

The Government must also set up national non-racial co-ordinating committees to make recommendations on housing, job creation, urban migration, creating and distributing revenue for local government administration, urban and metropolitan transport, land use patterns, and so on.

For example: the growth of black and white militancy and radicalism; the rate and tempo of urban influx; the strain on the economy and our financial resources.

This must not simply be an extension of bureaucratic structures that become self-perpetuating pockets of vested interests.

On the contrary, such committees must consist of people from the private and public sectors as well as from the communities themselves which are actively involved in coping with these problems.

The Government must also demonstrate its own bona fides by removing statutory obstacles to the individual's "normal and legitimate" participation in economic and community activities. Freedom of organisation, speech, association and trade must be established in a racially non-discriminatory manner.

There is no other way of finding out who the real and viable political, economic and social interest groups in the communities are and it is obviously better to negotiate with real ones than with "unreal" ones.

A successful urbanisation strategy is complemented and strengthened by an equally successful rural development strategy.

Once rural overcrowding and exploitation of our natural resources have been halted, attention will have to be directed to re-development of these areas as sources of food production and job creation.

There may very well be a natural flow back of population to these areas but I believe it will take quite a long time.

I have studiously avoided talking about national conventions or immediate political rights for blacks on a national level, not because I do not believe either to be important.

On the contrary. The suggestions I made are those which I believe are reasonable and plausible for the Government to consider.

Of course there are going to be very serious and difficult problems to cope with.

But these problems are going to be there not because of the steps I have suggested, but in spite of them and, what is more, in the absence of implementing them, these problems are going to be even more difficult to deal with, if not impossible.

If it is argued that it is unrealistic to expect a change of heart from the Government on the presence of blacks in the cities, then it is equally unrealistic to expect sensible suggestions for a "possible solution for urban blacks".

The one depends upon the other.



CSO: 3400/2165

HSRC SURVEY SHOWS COLOURED, INDIANS PREFER PW BOTHA

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Sep 84 p 7

[Text]

More coloured and Indian people would prefer Prime Minister Mr P W Botha as a political leader for South Africa, according to a recent HSRC survey.

Against candidates from all race groups, Mr Botha received more support than all the others together.

Less than 16 percent of the respondents in the survey totally rejected the new constitution, but a majority of both groups felt blacks should be included in the new dispensation.

RELEASE

The results of the survey, conducted in March by the Human Sciences Research Council's Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research, were released in Pretoria at the weekend.

The release of the report was postponed until after the coloured and Indian elections due to a

clause in the Electoral Act concerning the publication of survey findings which may influence an election, according to the project leader, Dr Nic Rhoodie.

Mr Botha was chosen as political leader by 37 percent of the coloured people, followed by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition (5,6 percent), Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs (4,9 percent) the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the coloured Labour Party (3,9 percent), and Dr Allan Boesak (2,9 percent).

STRIKING

Just under 30 percent of the coloured respondents had no preference.

"It is particularly striking that respectively 52,5 percent and 30 percent of the coloureds chose either a white person as leader or were uncertain, while only 10 percent named a leader

from their own ranks," Dr Rhoodie said.

In the Indian sample, 41,5 percent named the Prime Minister as their choice of political leader, followed by Dr Slabbert and Mr Pik Botha with 5,7 and 5 percent respectively.

No Indian person was chosen as leader by more than 0,8 percent.

When asked to choose a leader from their own population groups, the coloured people chose Mr Hendrickse (25 percent) and the Indians Mr Amichand Rajbansi (14 percent) and, once again, a large proportion said they were uncertain.

With regard to the new constitution, just over 16 percent of both coloured and Indian respondents accepted it completely, 30 and 40 percent respectively accepted only certain parts, while just under 16 and 15 percent respectively rejected it.

"It thus appears that,

at the time of the survey, 46 percent of the coloured and 57 percent of the Indian respondents accepted the new constitution at least in part," Dr Rhoodie said.

Twenty-four percent of the coloured and 30 percent of the Indian respondents agreed that black people should not participate in the same government with white, coloured and Indian people.

OPPOSED

Fifty percent and 56,5 percent respectively of the two samples were opposed to this view.

Twenty-six percent of the coloured people and 13,5 percent of Indians were uncertain or did not know.

With regard to a group name, 56,2 percent of the coloured and almost two-thirds (64,6 percent) of the Indian people indicated they preferred to be known as "South Africans". — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/2169

DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH POSES INCREASED SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 2 Sep 84 p 32

[Article by John Tilston]

[Text] THE biggest challenge facing South Africa at the turn of the century will be to provide jobs, houses and social services for an estimated 47,5-million people.

That is the common thread running through 15 forecasts by academics in Mobil SA's Energos magazine.

Many of these additional millions will move to cities. Estimates vary, but between 12-million and 20-million more people are likely to be living in urban areas.

Contrary to prevailing opinion, however, this is a positive trend, argues Anglo American's industrial relations consultant, Bobby Godsell. He writes: "It is clear that urbanisation is an integral, essential and indeed major part of economic growth and development."

Social scientists regard urbanisation as an essential part of a modern society.

"Urbanisation and economic development bring with them a further vital element --falling birth rates."

The drift to the cities will require an additional 3-million houses; costing R1 870-million a year until 1990, increasing to R2 175-million a year in the last decade of this century. A total of 6-million jobs--1 300 a day--will have to be created and 240 000 classrooms built.

Doubtful

Whether that will be achieved is doubtful. The University of Natal's Professor Jill Nattrass sees only "marginal changes in the current economic structure". She forecasts that one out of every four adults seeking work in "geographical" South Africa--including the homelands and the TBVC countries--will be unemployed or underemployed.

Of those who are working, one in four will be in the service sector of the economy, says Prof Nattrass, and most will be civil servants.

Farming

She forecasts an average annual gross domestic product real growth rate of 3,5%, with output and incomes rising "substantially". GDP in 1980 prices will be about R116 500-million. Most of this growth will come from the manufacturing, construction and service sectors. Mining output will decline in the long term and the agricultural potential is relatively limited, she believes.

Agricultural writer Symond Flake says farming yields will improve dramatically because of innovation. "Beneath the ugly surface SA agriculture still has a lot going for it."

He foresees no shortage of food, given free enterprise conditions. Malthusian predictions have no more place in 1984 than they did in 1798--unless government policies distort free-market mechanisms.

Prof Nattrass's predictions depend on an "acceptable level of law and order".

If Professor Hermann Gilliomme's crystal ball is in working order things might not be too bad.

He dismisses some of the more common scenarios of revolution, saying history does not support them. For example, he writes, that "there is no historical inevitability about majorities coming to power" and the effectiveness of control rather than the degree of discrimination determines whether there is internal peace in a nation.

He believes that "whites will still enjoy the most political and economic power, although it will be a steadily diminishing monopoly".

Sabotage

This view is supported by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of Natal University, who writes: "The level of sabotage is likely to remain below a threshold of cost which the system can endure for a protracted period."

Professor Andy Andrews of the University of the Witwatersrand Graduate School of Business states his prejudices up front. He writes: "This paper is optimistic and based on a belief that business leaders have the courage and the will to do what is necessary."

But he points to some areas which will exacerbate problems. "The infrastructure is at present unable to meet the needs of the people and will almost certainly be unable to cope at the turn of the century.

"Major investments in urban infrastructure must be made in the 1980s to provide power, transport, water, schooling and secure neighbourhoods."

Prof Andrews believes that "massive and expanding domestic market" will enable businesses to compete in world markets.

Power Grid

The physical scientists provide exciting scenarios of the future. Professor D Midgely paints a picture of regional co-operation in the subcontinent int he use of water and the generation by hydro-electric power. He believes the potential to "link the dry south with the wet north to the great economic advantage of both" will have to be tapped.

He forsees a power grid connecting the subcontinent as far north as Zaire.

Biotechnologist Professor Nancy van Schaik of Wits University sees several types of seaweed being used as food, beefsteak available without slaughtering animals, milk from cowless udders and the successful treatment of several types of cancer. This will be possible through genetic engineering.

"It will no longer be necessary to grow an entire plant or animal to derive only a few grams of the desired product--cells can be programmed to produce the products desired without wasting energy on any processes other than those necessary to stay alive, reproduce and produce the desired product."

CSO: 3400/2165

DEATHS, DETENTIONS IN TRANSKEI DEPLORED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 30 Aug 84 pp 13

[Article by Patrick Laurence]

[Text]

THE Transkei Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Mtutuzeli Lujabe, confided he was worried about his son as we walked down a corridor to the office of Transkei's Prime Minister in the Botha Sigcau Building in Umtata.

His son is studying medicine at Medunsa, near Pretoria, and Mr Lujabe was concerned that he might be detained by South African Police for protesting against South Africa's new tri-racial constitution.

But, I said to the ever-courteous Mr Lujabe, Transkei Police also detain students. "Ah," he replied, "but we do so with good reason."

While we waited in the ante-room to Prime Minister George Matanzima's office, I mentally recalled details of some of the recent detentions I had read about on the plane trip from Johannesburg to Umtata.

Three months ago, 137 students at the University of Transkei (Umtata) were detained by baton-wielding Transkei Police for holding a mass meeting in a park near the university campus to protest against the deportation of six lecturers and the suspension of the 14 students — including the entire membership of the Students' Representative Council.

It later emerged that the emergency regulations under which the detentions had been made were invalid because they had not been laid before the Transkei Parliament, as required by the Public Security Act. The students could have sought redress for un-

lawful detention through the courts.

But within a fortnight of the Supreme Court ruling that the detentions were unlawful, the Transkei Minister of Justice, Mr Tsapo Letlaka, introduced a law to indemnify the Transkei authorities, from President Kaiser Matanzima downward, from claims for unlawful arrest.

The law was made retrospective to June 1980, when emergency regulations under the Public Security Act were first evoked.

It was defended by Mr Letlaka as a move to protect taxpayers' money from students who had been interned for breaking the country's laws. The law, however, was slammed by the sole elected opposition MP, Mr Caledon Mda, as the "stick of a bully".

The detained students were released soon after the regulations were found to be invalid. At about the same time Transkei Police began the phased release of about 200 detainees from the Engcobo district, a traditional stronghold of opposition to Matanzima government.

One of the detainees, Mr Mxolisi Sipele, was the centre of a controversy less than a month ago. He was transferred from Engcobo Prison to Sulenkama Hospital in Quimba, where he later died.

Neither the police nor the hospital authorities informed his wife. His wife only discovered that he had died when he failed to make an appearance with the detainees from Engcobo after their release.

The Transkei Security Police

Chief, Brigadier Leonard Kawe, insisted Mr Sipele was released from police custody when he was admitted to hospital, seemingly implying that it exonerated police for all responsibility for his death.

But a lawyer representing the Sipele family, Mr Prince Madikizela, was equally adamant that some of Mr Sipele's clothes were still at prison at the time of his death, a clear sign, in his view, that Mr Sipele was still, in strict terms of the law, in police custody.

Detentions, and deaths in detention, are central to any appraisal of Transkei — especially as detainees have included Cabinet Ministers (Mr S K Ndzumo, who was Minister of Interior until the month before his death in detention in September 1980), MPs, (the latest of whom was Mr Mzwandile Matutu, a member of the ruling Transkei National Independence Party), top army officers (former army commander Brigadier R A Keswa) and even relatives of President Matanzima (Mr Prince Madikizela, the lawyer son-in-law of Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima).

Detentions therefore seemed an appropriate point at which to begin the interview with Prime Minister Matanzima, who is also Transkei's Minister of Police and Defence.

"There are very few people in detention today," the 66-year-old Chief Matanzima said. "But the police would be better able to answer that than me."

The conversation turned to the Engcobo detentions.

"Engcobo is a troublesome area. It has been troublesome from time immemorial. There was a tribal feud (before the most recent detentions there). Two chiefs were squabbling over the chieftainship. There were killings.

"The detentions were made to keep the peace and to enable the police to question the detainees and find the culprits. Several men have since been charged with various crimes."

Mr Madikizela, however, offered a different perspective on the strife.

The trouble started, he said, when the Transkei authorities tried to impose a headman on the region without its consent and evoked popular resistance. The government nominee was murdered and, in the wake of his death, the authorities accepted a man elected by the people as headman, Mr Madikizela added.

Chief Matanzima, however, was reluctant to talk about the death of Mr Sipele. "I can't really comment about that. I think the general could give a better reply."

The general referred to was General Jabu Mantutle, Transkei Commissioner of Police.

The Mail had approached him for comment earlier. He referred the Mail to Brigadier Kawe, of the Security Police, who said Mr Sipele had died about a month after being released from prison, adding that the family could have raised the question with the police of why they had not informed them he had died at the time of his death.

Of deaths in detention in Transkei in general, Chief Matanzima said: "The deaths have proved to be from natural causes. You can't prevent that ... As Minister of Police, I would take strong exception if a death in detention was proved to have been caused by the police."

Mr Madikizela, who has been approached by the Sipele family to help them and who has acted for detainees in the past, said: "I am satisfied that Mr Sipele was not assaulted by the police and that he died of natural causes."

But, seated in his office immediately opposite the Botha Sigcau Building, Mr Madikizela added a rider to his statement.

"Outside of Umtata conditions in jail are very bad. Prisoners are not given enough blankets. The food is unhygienic. If people are not strong they succumb."

Mr Madikizela was himself detained without trial in 1981 and

held in prisons in Umtata, Engcobo and Cofimvaba. When he was released without being charged, he initiated legal proceedings against the state for unlawful arrest. The matter, however, was settled out of court.

His clients include released Engcobo detainees, some of whom, he said, had been hospitalised with swollen legs and chest complaints. But they will not be able to seek redress because of the newly-passed Indemnity Act.

Another contentious issue in Transkei is that distribution of national income is "exceptionally skewed", as two research officers of the Development Bank of Southern Africa have put it.

Research by the Institute for Management and Development Studies at Unitra shows that the top 10% of the population earn nearly 45% of the national income while the bottom 10% earn less than 1%.

The division largely overlaps with the urban-rural divide — and, as an article in Development South Africa noted, the uneven distribution of income is shaping, with the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer.

Chief Matanzima initially questioned the above figures, remarking that it is difficult to make that precise a differentiation between rich and poor.

But when it was pointed out that the figures were put out by an institute affiliated to Unitra, he said: "I am concerned about men in the rural areas ... I want to improve agriculture, which is the most important part of our economy. It is the backbone of the economy."

It is common cause that there is a need for radical development in the rural areas. As the Development Bank researchers observed: "The absolute level of household income confirms that poverty is adopting proportions of great magnitude. In Transkei 85% of rural households earn an income lower than a conservatively calculated minimum subsistence level."

COMMENTARY ON LABOR PARTY VICTORY

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 26 Aug 84 p 2

[Editorial: "What's Deep in the Heart of Allen?"]

[Text]

SO it was only a 30 percent poll, and Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis finds this acceptable and satisfying. Internal Affairs Minister F W de Klerk expresses some disappointment but is also satisfied with the outcome — adding, somewhat predictably, that “intimidation” played a major role in keeping a lot of people away from the polls.

The United Democratic Front, meanwhile, points out that only 17 percent of the adult population voted.

So where do we go from here. Officially, the coloured people have gone to the polls and a House of Representatives is in motion. Yet, in spite of what the two ministers had to say, the fact is that the majority of coloured people — or rather their aspirations — are not represented by the people elected to that House.

Deep in his heart, Labour Party leader Allen Hendrickse knows that. In a way, his is a unique political jigsaw puzzle. He was in the forefront of disbanding the old Coloured Representative Council because it was “an apartheid structure and did not contribute to solving South Africa’s problems.

By taking that stance, he created

something of a constitutional crisis for the Government and they had to abandon the idea.

It was also Mr Hendrickse who allied himself with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in the formation of the Black Alliance. The idea was to mobilize black people into a cohesive political voice and speak with a unanimous voice on matters of national policy.

Yet it was the same Mr Hendrickse who jumped ship and decided he was no longer black, but coloured. The same man opted to participate in the slightly elevated Coloured Representative Council, which is now called the House of Representatives.

He cannot, however, be proud of the percentage poll.

As for the Government: we knew all along that percentages did not matter to them.

They have never had any respect for the popular will of the people. Nor are they sensitive to the aspirations of people.

They have been known to applaud even six percent of the vote as an expression of the people’s will.

We, as a nation, are truly deep in trouble.

CSO: 3400/2165

HOMELANDS' LABOR POLICIES ASSESSED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 31 Aug 84 p 4

[Article by Carolyn Dempster: "Homelands Labour Relations Leave Both Sides Unhappy"]

[Text]

South Africa and its 10 homelands have, over the past decade, adopted widely differing labour policies and approaches towards trade unions.

The result is a morass of labour legislation which not only poses a major barrier to a single collective bargaining system, but also creates severe anomalies in wages and working conditions. Recent experience has shown that the fragmentation is more conducive to disputes and industrial unrest than industrial peace.

While labour relations in South Africa have been riding on the crest of the wave of Wiehahn reforms, developments in the 10 homelands have left both employers and trade unions with little to smile about.

The homelands have carried out independent labour policies ranging from total repression of trade unions to a more conciliatory approach,

with Bophuthatswana, Venda, Transkei and kwaZulu enacting their own labour legislation.

For a start, the emergent trade union movement does not recognise the Government's homeland policy and spurns the concept of independent states.

Add to this the Government's decentralisation policy which promotes industry in homeland and border areas; a population of close on a million commuters who live in South Africa but work in the homelands; the fact that several major companies have concerns straddling homelands — and the stage is set for confusion and conflict.

In a recent paper on "Homelands and Trade Unionism", the assistant director (research) of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Miss Carole Cooper, highlighted the major problems and potential conflict areas.

BANNED

In September last year the Ciskei authorities banned the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) and embarked upon a harassment cam-

paing of its members.

The irony of the action is that while most of the union members are resident in Ciskei's Mdantsane township, they commute daily to work in East London, which falls within "South Africa".

The banning and repression campaign only served to heighten tensions at the workplace, exert more pressure on East London employers and make beleaguered workers more militant.

Similarly, the repeated detention of Saawu union officials by Ciskei and South African authorities over the past seven years has not helped industrial relations.

"The Ciskei views unions as a threat and has sought to curb their influence not only within its boundaries but outside them as well," writes Miss Cooper.

The homeland administration's fear of unionism and worker solidarity was manifested in a suggestion by the former head of State security, Lieutenant General Charles Sebe, in 1983 that a centralised labour in-

formation bureau be established to monitor the conduct and record the work performance of all Ciskei citizens.

PUNISHMENT

Workers who "misbehaved" and who were either involved in strike action or union activity would be marked unreliable and probably never get employment again.

Ciskei's Minister of Manpower, Chief Lent Maqoma, added that punishment camps on military lines would be established for those workers who broke their contracts for no valid reason — a suggestion supported by Mr Jack Roos, director of the Cape Chamber of Industries.

Bophuthatswana's approach to labour relations and trade unions has been marginally less confrontationalist.

In March this year the homeland passed its Industrial Conciliation Act, virtually outlawing South African-based trade unions and legal strikes and making conciliation a tedious procedure.

With the potential for greater industrial growth than any other homeland, the location of several highly strategic industries and a worker population (excluding agriculture and services) of 107 000 in 1982, Bophuthatswana's attitudes towards labour bear careful consideration.

Before passing the legislation, "South African" unions such as the National Union of Mineworkers and Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union were

warned by Bophuthatswana's Minister of Manpower, Mr Rowan Cronje, that they would be considered illegal foreign unions if they attempted to organise in Bophuthatswana.

A strike by NUM members at Union Carbide in Bophuthatswana over the issue of recognition was followed by a warning

from its parent federation — the Council of Unions of South Africa — that it would not become the "victim of the Bophuthatswana regime and its misguided advisers".

OPERATE

The choices open to the unions are to move their head offices to the home-

land in terms of the law, forget about organising there, or face repeated confrontation with the authorities.

Employers, who would prefer to operate under a single piece of legislation, have been frustrated by the numerous and sometimes conflicting laws.

There is little they can do but protest their helplessness to angry unions and workers.

Transkei made its anti-union position clear from the outset and set up a committee system in its 1977 Labour Relations Act. Venda has enacted similar legislation.

ILLEGAL

kwaZulu, on the other

hand, has provided for the operation of trade unions under its Industrial Conciliation Act of 1981 and has no objection to union affiliation to and/or financial support of a political party.

This resulted in the recent affiliation of a sugar union to the Inkatha movement — an affiliation which would be illegal in South Africa.

Aside from the obvious anomalies, there are also large wage discrepancies between urban and border areas and in the homelands.

Bata workers in kwaZulu in 1982 were earning from R14 to R28 a week compared to the minimum wage of R46,55 provided for in the industrial

council agreement for the footwear industry.

Industrial council agreements stipulating working hours also have no application outside of South Africa, opening the way for exploitation.

Miss Cooper reports that recent official regional development policy concedes it does not make much sense to divide areas economically according to homeland barriers.

But there seems little hope of the introduction of a uniform collective bargaining system and there is the likelihood of an increase in industrial conflict and unrest.

Conditions and Pay are Poor for Women Working in kwaZulu

Mrs Mahlangu pays a high price for being employed in Isithebe, kwaZulu, writes Carolyn Dempster.

At the multinational textile company where she works, the starting wage is R15 a week and the working conditions are "too appalling".

Across the "border" in South Africa, the same company operates another factory.

Here, the starting wage is R45 a week and working conditions fall under the watchful eye of the unions and the Industrial Council for the textile industry.

Mrs Mahlangu (not her real name) has little option where she would like to work.

NO PROTECTION

She is locked into the homeland through South Africa's influx control laws. The factories in Isithebe are the only places she is likely to obtain a living, now and in the immediate future.

Union protection, for improvements in wages and working conditions, is also a distant hope.

Mr M "Prof" Sineke, an organiser with the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) which is gathering membership in this growth area, was hesitant in naming the companies

involved in this kind of exploitation.

"They all feel they are doing the people a favour by providing work opportunities in these areas.

"The impression they give is that if pushed, they are prepared to close down and move the factories elsewhere."

In fact, much of the incentive to the employers in starting up industries in the homeland was the lure of lower wages, he commented.

For Mrs Mahlangu, the working hours may be the same as in the sister factory in Durban, but the workload is far greater.

MASS DISMISSALS

And, Mr Sineke says, the working conditions are pathetic and bear no comparison to the Durban factory. The NUTW's attempts to enlist the aid of the kwaZulu Government in the past in disputes with the Bata Shoe Company, owner of the KwaZulu Shoe Company, have proved fruitless. The disputes led to mass dismissals, selective rehiring and recruitment of non-unionised labour.

Mr Sineke believes there is no reason why future disputes, once they become volatile, should not follow the same route, with the kwaZulu Government ranged on the side of employers.

State Scotched Negotiations

Last January, recognition negotiations between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and Union Carbide covering the Ucar Minerals Mine in Bophuthatswana were at an advanced stage, writes Carolyn Dempster.

What should have been a relatively simple recognition procedure was, however, replaced by uncertainty and industrial unrest.

This was because of the Bophuthatswana Government's hostility towards the NUM and other South African-based unions.

About 450 NUM members at the mine went on strike on January 23 and 24 over recognition.

At the time, Union Carbide industrial relations manager Mr Cedric Robertson said the company was fully prepared to recognise and deal with the NUM.

But this was contrary to the policy of the Bophuthatswana authorities, who informed the NUM that it had "no standing nor would have any standing in the future in the homeland".

The company's efforts to secure a compromise between the union and

the authorities failed.

When Bophuthatswana passed its Industrial Conciliation Act, the door to negotiations between companies in the territory and the NUM was firmly shut.

Mr Robertson said much confusion had arisen from the uncertainty.

"The situation is clear now and labour relations at the mine are good.

"There is no doubt that we have to comply with the Bophuthatswana legislation.

"I don't think the NUM is very happy, but there is not much we can do about it."

CSO: 3400/2165

LABOR SITUATION IN BOPHUTHATSWANA EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 31 Aug 84 p 7

[Article by Andrew Beattie]

[Text]

Underdevelopment and unemployment in South Africa's black homelands are problems which could trigger widespread social and political unrest if left unattended much longer, say the experts. In a recent series of articles in *Indicator South Africa*, published by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at Natal University, they examined the prospects for development in these troubled areas.

In the third and final part of this series, ANDREW BEATTIE looks at some of the problems in this regard facing Bophuthatswana.

Within sight of the spectacular new government offices, shopping centres and residences in Mmabatho are clusters of tin shacks.

The shack-dwellers — many of whom commute several hours each day for wages of less than R20 a week, if they are lucky enough to have jobs — have seen Bophuthatswana Government revenues used to form a new indigenous elite.

If development has come to Bophuthatswana — as its government's mouthpieces claim — the bulk of the population has been unaffected.

Professor Karl Magyar, a former economic adviser to the government of Bophuthatswana, and now at the Universi-

ing the masses directly. "This type of investment is aimed at the white South African spender in Bophuthatswana, and provides relatively few jobs for the labour force in menial staffing capacities."

While President Lucas Mangope gives frequent reassurances of his government's liberal intentions in allowing free enterprise to operate there, this has no relevance to the masses who have little chance of accumulating capital.

Instead, argues Professor Magyar, what exists is State-capitalism, with the government taking on the function of the directorate of a corporation.

Reviewing the list of projects in which the gov-

South African states. Many observers find this difficult to understand in the light of his enthusiastic acceptance of complete independence in 1977.

Professor Magyar says these claims of a commitment to federation also do not coincide with the approach to economic development.

"The accommodation of federal forms requires different policies from those which seek to develop genuine self-sufficiency as in the case of independent countries. Federalism involves planning for a permanent relationship in the areas of employment, capital movement, aid, infrastructural extensions, fis-

ty of Durban-Westville, says there is a failure to implement, enforce, supervise and monitor developmental progress in the homelands. He points out that high growth rates — as claimed by Bophuthatswana — may be misleading.

This is because only a fraction of the population accrues increases in wages or profits, and a large portion of the Gross Domestic Product goes to foreign shareholders.

BENEFIT

He writes that the bulk of development schemes in Bophuthatswana are aimed chiefly at reflecting an increase in GNP.

The Bophuthatswana Government is inclined towards investment in grandiose, high-profile public projects, says Professor Magyar.

He highlights the Sun City project as one of those which focuses mainly on increasing GNP as against those which focus on benefit-

ernment of Bophuthatswana is investing its funds, one finds the following: a game lodge in Pilanesberg; an extension and possibility of a new hotel near Sun City; a hotel, casino and game reserve at Thaba Nchu; a new parliament building and government offices in Mmabatho; the establishment of Bop-TV; a new international airport; and a second hotel at Mmabatho, to mention a few.

Even if profitable, these schemes tie up funds that could be used for mass development, instead of merely creating a new black elite.

Professor Magyar pinpoints the lack of clarity on the position of permanent political ties between homelands and the South African Government as a major factor hindering economic development.

Recently, President Lucas Mangope again emphasised his commitment to a federation of

cal policies, and overall policy co-ordination.

"Working towards independence calls for a reduction of these ties and for the more painful attempt to develop diversification and self-sufficiency at any cost," writes Professor Magyar.

STRATEGY

The result of this lack of clarity offers the economic planner a very weak base on which to formulate an appropriate strategy.

Bophuthatswana has the option of remaining an integral part of South Africa. The South African economy needs the labour available in the homelands and they in turn need the capital, managerial, technological and organisational leadership offered by South Africans.

The rhetoric of "independence" imposes restrictions which in many ways limit the development of this region.

RESERVE BANK SEES NEED TO TRIM STATE JOBS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 29 Aug 84 p 7

[Article by Paul Bell: "State Job Trims Needed"]

[Text]

IF STATE jobs have to be cut back, it will have to be done by a process of natural attrition, in terms of the Government's rationalisation programme, Dr Gerhard de Kock, Governor of the Reserve Bank, said last night.

He was commenting on his speech at the annual meeting of the bank yesterday, in which he referred to "retrenchment" as a possible option to cut public spending.

He said he had been thinking of the approach adopted by the SA Transport Services (SATS).

SATS has cut staff by about 40 000 to 239 000 in a two-year economy campaign and has almost wiped out a projected budget deficit for 1983/84 of R634-million.

Dr De Kock said private sector employment graphs reflected very clearly the state of the business sector. Public service graphs did not, but he was not suggesting people be fired.

He said in his speech: "I cannot over-emphasise the critical need for cutting back public sector spending, whether by privatisation, the termination of certain services or even the retrenchment of less productive staff."

The Minister of Finance was investigating these options and a statement would be made soon.

Last night, Dr De Kock said the important thing was to cut Government spending.

The situation in which the Government's wage bill had risen 30% be-

tween June 1983 and June 1984, should not be repeated.

Government departments tended, he said, to start with the previous year's budgeted figures, without re-evaluating services and functions.

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that the suggestion of possible retrenchments has caused a nervous tremor in the public service.

Salaries paid to Government workers, according to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, amount to more than R5 000-million a year — about 20% of Government spending.

The chairman of the Federation of SATS Trade Unions, Mr Jimmy Zurich, said yesterday: "We have done it in the railways. It's been Parkinson's Law in reverse and it has worked."

Mr Zurich said that despite staff cuts of 40 000 "the railways are still running and productivity has increased".

The cuts had saved the railways tens of millions of rands a year.

"There is no doubt about it. We have a monster of a public service."

The president of the Public Servants' Association, Dr Colin Cameron, said raising productivity in the service was a major priority. An outside organisation would probably be called in soon to review productivity.

● The Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, last night denied reports that large-scale salary improvements were taking place in the civil service

DE KOCK'S ASSESSMENT OF ECONOMY ANALYZED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Sep 84 p 10

[Article in "My Business" column by John Von Ahlefeldt: "De Kock's Drastic Warnings"]

[Text]

Unrelenting is probably the most apt description of the annual address by the Governor of the Reserve Bank in assessing the state of the South African economy and the likely outlook for the short to medium term future.

Anybody expecting Dr de Kock to produce a rabbit from the hat must be beyond feeling any disappointment and well into the realms of total disillusionment.

There can be few occasions in modern times when a man at the helm of the most important financial institution in the country has been moved to use the central bank's annual meeting as an occasion to deliver such drastic warnings to the country at large, public as well as private sectors.

Over the past year or two, critics of Government spending have been treated to that well-known South African reflex reaction of having the label of political opportunism hung around their necks.

Dr de Kock this week must have finally put an end to such allegations with his observation that it will require "Herculean efforts" on the part of the Government to avoid undermining the efforts now being made to bring the economy back on course.

Rightly or wrongly, I gained the impression from the tenor of the address that he and his colleagues are in despair at the failure on the part of Government to reduce spending. I am also left with the impression that unless this can be

achieved, much of what is now being offered as a cure for economic ill-health will have no effect other than to make the lives of all of us that much less acceptable.

In other words, Government spending lies at the heart of everything the planners are now trying to achieve.

The overall impression of the De Kock address is that, as we have suggested in the past, the full extent of the current crisis is even now not fully understood; that unless the various contributing elements are consolidated into a solid package of meaningful fiscal and monetary policy we are all onto a hiding to nothing.

So much for the school of thought which still insists that recovery is just around the corner or things are not really as bad as "they" would have us believe.

In Pretoria there must be deep concern at the prospects of having to persist with the current exorbitantly high interest rates for too long, knowing that, however necessary they may be at the moment (largely, and let us not forget it, because they should have risen more sharply, more timeously) they will be deeply destructive to the entire economy of the country if they are left for too long.

The Governor has also warned that inflation will rise further before being brought under control. Once again, the implication is that unless inflation is reduced by

using the methods now adopted and unless awareness of this fact is complete, the alternative is inflation on a scale hitherto unknown here and acceptable only to some of the less agreeable South American republics.

To say, as the Governor has said, that South Africa faces the worst of both worlds in the short term — internal recession coinciding with accelerating inflation — is certainly no exaggeration. The task of rectifying the situation is equally onerous, including endeavouring to reintroduce that now outdated concept of thrift and savings (part of the survival kit discussed in earlier columns) to a society totally disenchanted with the process of eroding money values.

It is made no less difficult by keeping one eye on the growing belief that unless this country takes every opportunity to develop its exports now (generally conceded to be the most vital precursor to economic recovery), we may miss out on the current boom in the United States and the comparatively healthy state of the various European economies.

The urbane Dr de Kock, whose personal stature within the community is possibly unequalled by anyone in public office, will need all the support he can get from a new Minister as well as from a Prime Minister whose ability to force economies on his Cabinet colleagues is in some doubt, if he is not to become the whipping boy for the present unhappy state of affairs.

CSO: 3400/2155

ECONOMY, PROSPERITY MENACED BY INFLATION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Sep 84 p 1M

[Article by John Katz]

[Text]

The West seems set on the road to recovery, with America blazing a trail of two percent inflation and seven percent growth.

A cheaper rand should improve South Africa's chances of increasing exports of manufactured products to the West.

But to prosper from the opportunity, South Africa must first deflate, stabilise the rand currency against the volatile movements on the gold market, and be seen to maintain consistent monetary policies.

Jaguar's spectacular race from *de facto* bankruptcy to annual profits above R100 million won over the last three years was helped along the last laps by a cheaper pound sterling, to the joy of American buyers.

But the course was set in the days of British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's crusade to persuade her nation to do more for less, not less for more.

TROUBLED WATERS

There was no room for the politics of compromise in her evangelism — and many derided her as Attila the Hun.

More today extol her as the "Magatollah".

The competitive edge of the devalued rand will soon be overshadowed if South Africa fails to dismantle its price spiral.

Government can take an early lead by halting rising rail

rates in their tracks.

With the rand regarded as money that cannot be trusted, inflationary pressures will gush in every direction as the troubled waters swirl.

To resist the tide, public and private sector leaders will have to adopt an Iron Maiden stance when overtures are made — no matter how insensitive they appear, or politically inexpedient the answer sounds.

Increasing inflation in manufacturing industries makes exports uncompetitive, irrespective of how low the rand sinks.

The gold share illusion — that less in real terms is more in rands — brings some comfort in Diagonal Street.

But be warned. It is a confidence trick.

To keep parity with the West, domestic inflation must be contained round five percent.

Alternatively we walk the plank of inflate, and devalue.

South Africa must stop dancing to the tune of the Chamber of Mines Gold Bug Ensemble.

True, the ensemble was top of the pops half a decade ago with its orchestration of the melody "Gold is Money You Can Trust".

But, alas, the group has fallen from the charts.

The siren call has lost the power to charm, and the band has gone stale.

Perhaps it will stage a comeback, but it has failed to thrill,

even with "Rhapsodies on Gulf crises, "Requiem Masses for the Pound", and "Last Posts for the Dollar".

The beat today plays inflation down, and we will have to get with it if we are to stabilise the rand and make it money which can be trusted again.

Gold's volatility, on the peaks of which we had pinned our highest hopes, has contributed to the collapse of our currency.

Having promoted the rand as the currency of gold against the dollar, South Africans now gamble on a battle between two Goliaths in which the only assured winners will be the gnomes.

A month ago, the South African economy was rushed from emergency to intensive care.

A new houseman monitored the patient, and introduced hysterical dosages of interest-rate therapy.

Within a few days a message of comfort was produced in the ivory towers of SABC-TV, and the new young doctor with a good bedside manner was presented to the nation in prime viewing time and in the best studio light.

Wise men know that the medicine being prescribed is toxic, and should not be administered for long — it favours the rich over the poor, wrenches work from the willing, attacks the symptom and not the disease, and has no therapeutic effect.

A disillusioned country accepted a measure of despair and defeat as an emergency procedure to get the ship back under some control.

An investor cannot act until it is back on course.

A searching democracy needs to have answers, not scapegoats.

There are no answers.

There is no direction. The call to tighten belts is scary but

vague. New targets have not been fixed.

The nation has not been taken into its confidence by the Government, and cannot come out of the mess other than hand-in-hand with the public sector. The economy is in a coma.

What exporters need is a stable regimen... falling interest rates would be a sign of improvement, realistic rates a confirmation.

So far little has been said, but South Africans look to every utterance for guidance.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis urged delegates at the recent Natal National Party congress to combat inflation by shopping around for the best bargains.

EXPORT MORE

This is probably quite a good idea for a buyer of a new luxury car, undecided between two handsome sports saloons.

But it's meaningless for the large numbers of people who can scarcely afford the whole loaf let alone negotiate on price.

Can it be that South Africans are being urged to follow the advice of Marie Antoinette?

Exporters know that the country has the resources to make more products and export more of those products.

South Africa wants hope for its people — expected to number 45 million by the turn of the century, a brief 16 years down the road.

In the next days, weeks and months, South Africans will be looking for proof of resolve. They urge faith in the wisdom of Margaret Thatcher, and see the economic challenge as a case of deflate or die.

● *John Katz, a South African living in London, is European sales manager for a major timber product exporter.*

TRADE UNIONISM AT CROSSROADS, SAYS TUCSA CHIEF

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Sep 84 p 2M

[Article by Carolyn Dempster]

[Text] The annual conference of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) opened in Durban yesterday with predictions by acting president Mr Robbie Botha that it could be the most important meeting in the council's history.

Trade unionism in South Africa had reached a crossroads. It was vital therefore that Tucsa evaluate its new relevance and set new goals in a new set of circumstances, Mr Botha told delegates attending the four-day conference.

As the largest multi-racial trade union council in South Africa, it was Tucsa's role to ensure that the cause of labour was not lost amid the new balances of power which would come into play with the implementation of the new constitution, he said.

Since the last conference, the council had lost almost 100 000 affiliate members in nine unions.

Unless the council and its affiliates faced up to and accepted these facts, Tucsa would not be able

to build a dynamic future for the labour movement, said Mr Botha.

The role of the council would be to secure its future in the common cause of a better South Africa and decide how as a labour movement it fitted into a changing South Africa.

"We are almost by definition a centrist grouping. We must now be prepared to step boldly into that centrist position and understand that we need make no apology to the left or the right," said Mr Botha.

PROBLEMS

There was no "graceful leap" to a better South Africa; it had to be built brick by brick, frustration by frustration.

Among the problems which Tucsa faced at the outset of its deliberations

was the deepening recession which has hit workers particularly hard, rising unemployment, the lack of a social security net, and inflation.

"Government must be made to understand that job transference is not job creation ... new ventures must be found for the homelands — not a non-viable method which robs workers and taxpayers," said Mr Botha.

Unnecessary Government spending lay at the heart of inflation. "The worker is being called on to fund non-viable homeland projects, control boards, lavish parliamentary costs, a burgeoning civil service and overspending," he added.

But ultimately, Tucsa could only be as effective as its affiliates, Mr Botha concluded.

CSO: 3400/2169

ATLANTIS DIESEL ENGINE PROJECT SAVES FOREX

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 1 Sep 84 p 12

[Article by Priscilla Whyte]

[Text]

THE Atlantis Diesel Engine (ADE) project is saving South Africa about R40m a year in foreign exchange, according to Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Industries and Commerce.

Speaking this week at the official opening of Phase II of the Perkins diesel engine ADE plant at Atlantis near Cape Town he said:

"At this stage the savings amount to R40m a year and after the attainment of the full local content programme and based on expected future sales at current prices, the annual saving in foreign exchange will amount to about R200m."

The Phase II expansion of the Perkins plant will increase the local content of the engines by 30% to 75% by value.

Phase II involved an investment of R40m.

At full capacity this plant will produce 22 500 units and provide employment for a further 166 workers.

Since the start of production in April 1981, ADE has manufactured 50 000 diesel engines, of which about 40 000 have been built into trucks, buses and tractors.

ADE celebrated a triple milestone this week with the launch of the ADE range of V-engines, the production of the 50 000th in-line engine and the official opening of the

Perkins engine machining facility.

Dr De Villiers believed the establishment of ADE had a major impact on South African industry and the economy in general.

It represented a total investment of R450m and provides employment for 2 811 staff and at completion of the project 3 849 would be employed.

Dr De Villiers said its establishment had had a catalyst effect because about 75 manufacturing concerns in South Africa had been established or had expanded their production facilities to supply parts and components to ADE.

This development had resulted in an additional investment of more than R150m.

It had created job opportunities for over 1 000 workers.

"The establishment of ADE has made a valuable contribution to secondary industry in South Africa."

The rationalisation of the previously imported engines from 240 types to the five engine families of ADE had resulted in significant improvements in the availability of replacement parts and reduced obsolescence.

Dr Hartmut Beckurts, managing director of ADE said: "ADE is making excellent progress in fulfilling the mandate that it received in 1979 — to establish a modern

diesel engine plant at Atlantis and to meet the demand of supplying engines in the 35kW-450kW range."

He admitted that the introduction of the V-engine range for commercial vehicles has been a subject of "much controversy in the South African transport industry".

"This must be attributed to costly and disappointing failures of V engines, both in South Africa and elsewhere, when they were initially introduced over a decade ago."

He said ADE's licensor had recognised the problems and had optimised the design long before ADE appeared on the scene, with the result that a proven product was being manufactured.

The Board of Trade had recommended that manufacturers be granted a period of two years to convert their vehicles to the V programme of ADE.

Mr Beckurts believed this was realistic.

"We are actively co-operating with all those original equipment manufacturers, who have placed their requirements with us and will assist them to be ready when protection takes effect on March 1, 1986."

The V programme was a logical progression to the ADE engine range on account of the high degree of interchangeability of parts with the 400 series of in-line engine models, he said.

LIQUOR LICENCES BOUGHT BY PORTUGUESE BUSINESSMEN

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Sep 84 p 6M

[Article by Stephen McQuillan]

[Text]

Portuguese businessmen are busy snapping up the most valuable liquor licences in South Africa.

Major Frans Malherbe, officer in charge of liquor law enforcement in Johannesburg, said: "They are worth a lot of money and most have been bought by the Portuguese."

A Bar Licence — known in the trade as a "Kruger Licence" — has been in existence since the days of Paul Kruger. They are now reportedly changing hands for R100 000 or more.

They are seen as the ideal licence by many disco and night club owners because they allow liquor to be served in a bar 24 hours a day without food.

Major Malherbe said there were about a dozen Kruger Licences left in South Africa. There were eight in Johannesburg and two in Kimberley.

"With a Kruger Licence — a bar licence — you are not compelled to serve meals. It's an old mining licence," he said.

Some of the licences were transferable, but most belonged to a building. When the building was demolished, the licence lapsed.

Night club owners said the licences were an investment. "One person bought several and he will most probably sell them later at a massive profit," one owner said.

CSO: 3400/2169

DRY SUMMER PREDICTED

Cape Town THE CAPE TIMES in English 28 Aug 84 p 7

[Text]

PRETORIA. — Weather bureau records indicate South Africa is still in the grip of a dry 10-year cycle which started in 1978-79 — and the odds are that another summer of below-average rainfall lies ahead.

However, according to the deputy director of the bureau, Mr G Schultze, there is no reason to despair — yet.

Wet years of above-average rainfall have been experienced within the historic 10-year dry spells.

Mr Schultze said the earliest — again on average — summer rains could be expected was mid-October.

"However," he added, "this is not to say it won't rain during September. It has in the past and it could again there is no rigid pattern."

Mr Schultze said contrary to popular belief, last summer's drought was not the most serious.

The year before — 1982-83 — summer was the driest year on record. He pointed out that the 1983-84 summer got off to a great start with heavy soaking rains in October, November and December.

Then the drought started. In the critical growing months for summer crops — January and February — virtually no rain fell at all, and disaster struck the platteland.

Farming authorities said South Africa's richest crop, maize, could be planted from mid-October up to the first week in December.

However good soaking penetrating rains were needed before mid-October to moisten sun-baked soil which were powder dry to a depth of more than a metre.

ANOTHER DRY SEASON THREATENS FARMERS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Sep 84 p 6

[Article by Hannes Ferguson: "Another Drought Disaster on Cards"]

[Text]

Welcome spring rains may have saved South Africa's wheat harvest, but weather pundits say the odds are lengthening against a good summer rainfall season, raising the spectre of another drought disaster.

They say that January to March is the critical rainfall period and that maize and other summer crop farming is still a long gamble.

Should it rain cats and dogs from now until Christmas, and then "dry up", the important crops will be total losses. This is what happened last year.

And should this dry cycle be repeated again, economists say it will be a king-size crisis. The population will still be fed — but at a staggering cost.

According to Professor Peter Tyson of the University of the Witwatersrand, the country is in the middle of a dry cycle which will change for the better only in 1990.

Mr Michael Harrison, a weather science lecturer at Wits, said that earlier this year ocean temperature patterns had indicated a good rainy season, but recent changes in those patterns had reversed the trend.

The rains of the last few days will, at last, enable maize farmers to plough their fields after a long, dry winter, but much more is needed.

Economists warned that consumers, already hit by spiralling

prices, could expect to earn less and pay more next year.

Vegetables, fresh milk and super-grade beef prices will rocket. And maize will again have to be bought on a rising world market.

And farmers' debts, now close to R10 billion, will climb to nearly R13 billion — far beyond hope of repayment unless food and fibre prices increase steeply.

Barclays Bank chief economist Dr Johann Cloete said South Africa's already doubtful economic recovery would be further delayed if the country experienced another dry season.

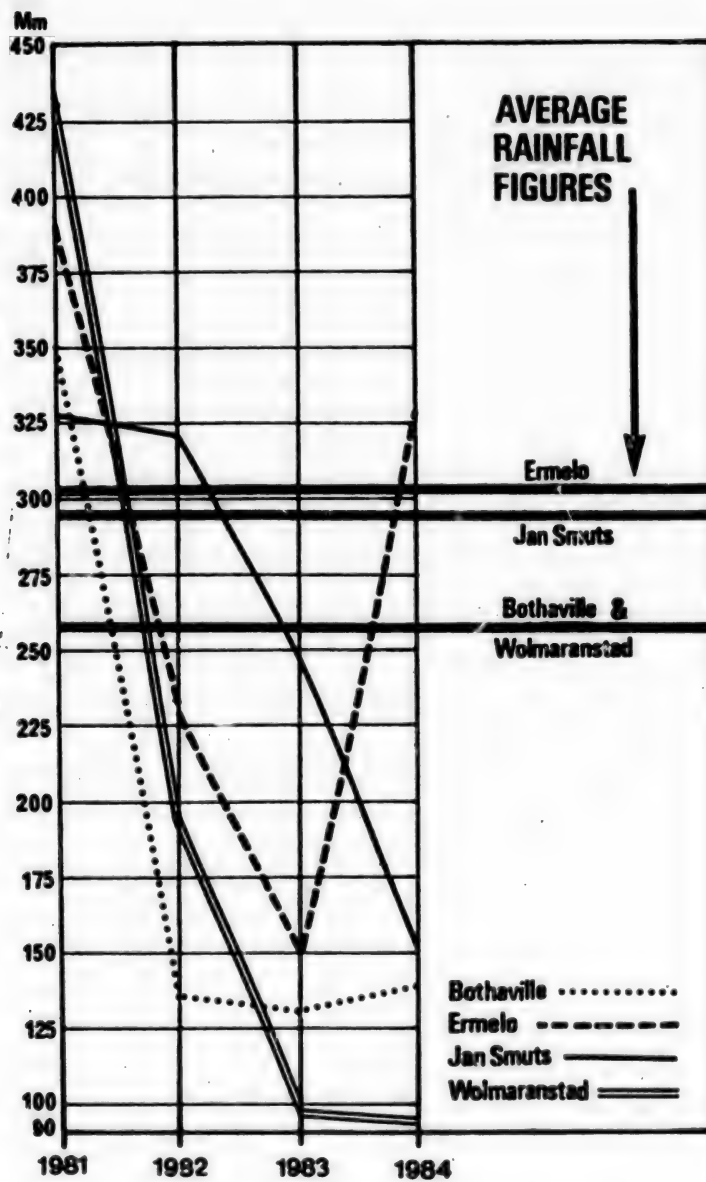
Rising prices would lead to an even stricter money squeeze, while the balance of payments might deteriorate to the point of justifying the reintroduction of selective import control.

The whole of South Africa should share the risks of the country's climate, according to Volkskas economist Mr Adam Jacobs.

If the drought crises deepened, tax rises, including another GST hike, could not be avoided.

Industries supplying the agricultural sector or relying on agriculture for their raw material, would suffer further setbacks, causing more unemployment.

South Africa could be facing a full depression, Mr Jacobs said.



CSO: 3400/2165

BRIEFS

GERHARDT'S COMMISSION--CAPE TOWN--Defence headquarters in Pretoria said yesterday steps had been taken to have Commodore Dieter Gerhardt's naval commission formally withdrawn. This followed the announcement in Bloemfontein that a petition submitted to the Chief Justice on Gerhardt's behalf asking for leave for him to appeal against his sentence of life imprisonment for high treason had been refused. Earlier this year the SADF said it would consider acting against Gerhardt only after all civil court procedures had been completed. Gerhardt is a former officer commanding the SA Naval Dockyard at Simonstown. He was convicted of spying for the Soviet Union over a period of 21 years.--An SADF spokesman told the Mail Correspondent in Cape Town yesterday that SA Defence Force officers retained their commissions "for as long as it pleases the State President". [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 Aug 84 p 5]

FOREIGN POLICY--JERUSALEM--The success of South African foreign policy was partly due to inspiration given by Israel, it has been claimed by an Israeli expert on African affairs. There were definite parallels between the "grand designs" of Israel in Lebanon and those of South Africa in its Marxist neighbours, Dr Mordechair Tomarkin, head of African Studies at Tel Aviv University, said in an extensive television programme about South Africa on Friday. South Africa, Dr Tomarkin said, had until the early 80s wanted to "redesign" all of Southern Africa by using its own military force and the internal military opposition to its Marxist neighbours. However, Dr Tomarkin noted, at about the same time that Israel "climbed down from the high tree of her grand design in Lebanon", South Africa--"which often draws her inspiration from Israel"--embarked on more pragmatic and feasible methods of reaching an understanding with two of her most problematic neighbours, Mozambique and Angola. [Text] [East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 20 Aug 84 p 3]

CSO: 3400/2165

LONRHO UNHAPPY WITH SUGAR PROSPECTS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 28 Aug 84 p 16

[Text] SWAZILAND-registered Lonrho Sugar Corporation, which in the year to March had attributable profits of R2,2m, is unhappy about prospects for the current year.

In the 1983 financial year, its attributable profits were R1,8m.

The chairman, Mr M J J R Leclezio, in his review in the annual report, said:

"A 72% increase in pre-tax profits was achieved, the production targets of Malawi and Swaziland were met and the group's sugar production of 443 521 tons was only 2% lower than the record figure established in 1982-83, and this in spite of crop reductions of 29% in Glendale and 8% in Mauritius."

He said that a record crop was expected at Glendale, which had a good rainy season after the drought was broken early this year.

"Everywhere else in the group, production will be down and this for different reasons: Drought in Mauritius, irrigation failure in Swaziland because of damage to irrigation water supply works by the floods, late application of fertilisers in Malawi because of transport difficulties, and slightly reduced cane acreage because of agricultural diversification.

"Better factory performance is expected everywhere except at Dwangwa, where the overall recovery will be affected by the fact the B molasses is now being sold to the distillery company instead of the more exhausted C molasses.

"This is being done with the double object of maximising returns by avoiding crippling sugar transport costs and of increasing the volume of ethanol produced to match Malawi's requirements.

"The failure of the Geneva conference and the overhanging pressure of 40-million tons of sugar stock over the market, combined with reports of increased production and reduced consumption, do not augur well for the future of sugar prices.

"At the present extremely low prices, however, sugar must become a very competitive raw material for many industries. I believe, therefore, that the

market has very nearly bottomed out and that it should not be long before the signs of a recovery start appearing.

"Taking into consideration the prices already achieved for the present crop, a further slight improvement in crop profit is expected."

CSO: 3400/2167

REFUGEES POSE TRICK PROBLEM

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Sep 84 p 9

[Article by Joao Santa Rita]

[Text]

MBABANE — At the UN High Commission for Refugees here a poster shows an untarred, winding road in a barren environment of rocks and mountains.

"The road for a refugee is as long as you make it" says the poster and for about 800 Mozambicans who fled into Swaziland in the last few weeks that is about to be proved.

Because of national pride and lack of humanitarian considerations the refugees face a long and hard road ahead.

The Mozambican authorities want them back as soon as possible and do not want the flight of the refugees publicised.

The Swazi authorities do not want the matter to affect relations with Mozambique and have abandoned plans to resettle them in the interior.

CONTROL

"The Mozambicans don't want to appear as if they can't control the country. They also fear that the world might think that those refugees are opponents of the Government.

"We can't upset them.

Since the Nkomati agreement we try to keep friends with everybody," a senior Swazi official, who declined to be named, said.

So, for the time being the refugees will stay in the border areas, living in huts provided by friends or family, not knowing what tomorrow will bring.

Chief Baphtali Mahlalela of Lomahasha, where most of the refugees are, says that as far as he is concerned there is no problem in having the Mozambicans.

"These people are not foreigners. They are Swazis who were left in Mozambique during the drafting of boundaries by the colonialists," he said.

"They speak our language and many have relatives here."

Hundreds of refugees have fled into Swaziland to escape instability in Mozambique. They face an uncertain future because of the tiny kingdom's delicate relations with its neighbours.

A Swazi spokesman said the Government had no intention of claiming that the refugees were Swazi nationals.

"We can't do that. They are Mozambicans, but for humanitarian reasons we have to let them stay here," he said.

As the Mozambicans fled into Lomahasha and Siteki to escape the alleged brutalities by the Mozambique National Resistance, more than 700 South African Swazis were fleeing their homes in northern Natal because of alleged intimidation by the kwaZulu Government.

They will probably be joining about 7 000 other South Africans of Swazi origin who live in the agriculture area of Ndzevane, 150 km south-east of Mbabane.

The Swazi Government welcomes these refugees and publicises their plight as a justification to its claim to Ingwavuma, but at the same time it continues to arrest and deport

South Africans linked to the African National Congress.

The UNHCR says that about 154 South Africans linked to the ANC have been expelled.

CLASHES

Now, after clashes in the Mozambican border areas of Namaacha and Goba, members of the Mozambique National Resistance are being arrested inside Swaziland.

It is not yet clear what the Swazi authorities intend doing with the Mozambican rebels.

"This is a very delicate political situation. For a country with only about 500 000 people, events like this can mean bad news for us," the top Swazi official said.

"It is also very upsetting for us to have these people seeking asylum here as our friends across the border might get upset. You must understand. It is African politics."

TAZARA PROBLEMS RESOLVED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 3 Sep 84 p 1

[Article by Enock Ngosa]

[Text]

PERPETUAL loss-making Tanzania-Zambia Railways (Tazara) is finally heading for an "economic take off."

Tazara board chairman Mr Odira Ongara and general manager Brigadier - General Charles Nyirenda reported in Lusaka yesterday that the teething problems which had afflicted the railway line had been resolved.

Mr Ongara and Gen Nyirenda said because of the harmonious working relations with Zambia Railways, Tazara had acquired an additional 32 fleet of locomotives.

IMPROVE

"As a result of this, we are introducing an express Tazara passenger train between Dar es Salaam and Kapiri Mposhi to run simultaneously every Wednesday and Saturday from December 1," said Mr Ongara.

Passenger trains have improved in speed and efficiency, he said. Instead of taking 5 days to arrive at either Kapiri Mposhi or Dar es Salaam, the two trains

would reach the two destinations in three days after starting off every Monday.

Mr Ongara who is permanent secretary in the Ministry of Transport and Works in Tanzania said for the first time again, Tazara would be hauling Malawi goods.

"To begin with, we are going to move about half a million tonnes of Malawian cargo from which we expect to raise about K2 million in two months time," he said.

Gen Nyirenda chipped in and said the Malawian authorities had already started preparing their main road network to be used by Malawi truckers to ferry goods to Tazara at Mbeya.

Mr Ongara and Gen Nyirenda said that Tazara had opened two fixed deposit bank accounts in Zambia with an initial capital of K12 million — one with 12 per cent interest and the other with eight and half per cent interest.

Each account would be increased by K1 million every month, Mr Ongara said and added: "Financially, we are now liquid.

In fact, we are the only railway line which does not operate on overdrafts. I hope the situation will continue like this."

Mr Ongara said there were not many goods being transported by Tazara. "There is only a trickle of the Zimbabwean traffic." He hoped the situation would improve with the signing of trade pacts among countries in the Southern African region.

The two men who are in Lusaka for a routine board meeting denied reports of pilfering at the port of Dar es Salaam. They urged the Press not to dramatise such reports as they only succeeded in damaging the image of the port for the benefit of Tazara's enemies.

"What happens at the port of Dar es Salaam cannot be any different from what goes on at Lobito, Singapore or any other port in the world. If one is talking about pilferage, it is better to substantiate what has been pilfered rather than talking in general terms. Otherwise, there is no pilfering at the port of Dar," said Gen Nyirenda.

CSO: 3400/2173

RAILWAY PROJECT MAY COST MORE

Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 3 Sep 84 p 5

[Text]

THE CHIPATA-Mchinji Railway project which was supposed to cost K14 million to construct may eventually cost the government about K50 million, if allocation of funds to the project continues at the present slow pace.

Briefing Chipata Member of Parliament, Mr Mtolo Phiri, during his tour of the project at the weekend, a Zambia Railways project engineer Mr Alick Mbabeta said the 24 kilometre line was to have been completed this month but only a quarter of the work has been done due to the slow pace at which the government released funds.

So far only ten kilometres of earth-moving and bush-clearing has been completed.

He said since 1982, only about K1.31 million has been released and the money has been used on the construction of ten staff houses and a hostel block, including the earth-moving and bush-clearing work.

The liaison and administrative officer seconded to the project from the Ministry of Power, Transport and Communications, Mr Billy Mukanda, expressed the same senti-

ments adding that the project was almost at a stand-still now due to lack of funds.

He said Brunelli Construction, the company engaged in earth works has pulled out most its machinery and labour force and feared that with the coming of the rains, most of the earth works will be washed away, and this will mean starting afresh next year.

Mr Mukanda said with the rising costs of building materials and fuel, the project will cost far much more than it would have, had the government given the project half the money or more in the beginning.

He said for instance last year, the project committed asked for K2 million only to be given about half of that.

And it is understood only K800,000 has been allocated to the project instead of K1 million it had asked for this year, he said.

Mr Phiri said he was disappointed at the slow pace at which the project was going and requested the authorities to quickly release enough funds to the project to avoid more and unnecessary expenses. Zana.

CSO: 3400/2173

TRAIN DISRUPTION AVERTED FOLLOWING STRIKE BY 2,000 WORKERS

Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 6 Sep 84 p 1

[Text]

ZAMBIA Railways management has mobilised its essential workers and senior officials to ensure that train operations are not disrupted following the strike by over 2,000 workers in the Southern Province, managing director, Mr Emmanuel Hachipuka, said in Kabwe yesterday.

Speaking in an interview, Mr Hachipuka said both north and south-bound passenger trains will be driven by the company's inspectors to ensure that services are not disrupted.

Apart from handling local traffic, Zambia Railways is also responsible for the transportation of the country's exports such as copper, lead and zinc. It also handles imports such as fertiliser, wheat, edible oils, salt and other goods.

Asked how much export and import traffic is stranded as a result of the strike, Mr Hachipuka said: "There is no traffic which is stranded. Those on strike are unionised employees and in their place we are using our inspectors to run the trains.

However, reports from Livingstone say that thousands of goods on the southern route are stranded at the tourist capital's railway station following the three-day strike.

Most of the trains were being manned by senior railways officials to avoid a complete halt of the operations on the route.

Meanwhile, the Railway Workers Union of Zambia (RWUZ) in the Southern

Province is undecided as to whether the striking workers should resume work.

RWUZ regional secretary, Mr Sandy Kangote said in Livingstone yesterday that although the issues which led to the work stoppage had not been resolved, it was up to the workers to decide whether to start work or not.

Mr Kangote said union members had discussions with the Company Secretary and Personnel Manager from Kabwe on issues relating to the strike but they did not reach any agreement.

"We have not resolved the problem of overtime and other allowances. But we will try to persuade the workers to return for work today while the RWUZ headquarters resolve the problem with the management," he said.

Mr Kangote said he was positive the RWUZ headquarters would resolve the overtime and allowance problems which caused the work stoppage in the Southern Province.

But a source said the strike which paralysed the Southern Region was caused by the failure on the part of the union members to explain clearly the terms of payment and the position of the five union

workers who were dismissed.

He said the problem was resolved and the union leaders agreed to ask their members to return to work today.

The source explained that the five union members were not fired but suspended while their matter was being looked into by the management.

The RWUZ on Monday demanded the removal of Mr Hachipuka as a condition for striking workers to resume work.

The RWUZ officials demanded that workers who were to receive their salary increment arrears next Thursday and Friday should also get a lump sum including overtime and other allowances and the reinstatement of the five union workers who were dismissed in Kabwe recently.

And ZANA reports that the more than 300 miners at Mufulira's Mpelembe Drilling Plant who downed tools last week demanding salary increases and improved conditions of service have called off their strike.

BRIEFS

STUDENTS TO GDR--A GROUP of 65 Zambians leave for the German Democratic Republic (GDR) on Wednesday this week for training in agricultural oriented courses. They are part of the 1,000 students who are to train in GDR under a joint technical agreement signed by the two countries in 1981. Bursaries Committee secretary Mr Wellington Chitundu said yesterday that so far, about 600 Zambian students are in that country pursuing courses in various vocational and technical skills. He said the committee was satisfied with the training offered in GDR and considering the fact that there were limited places in local institutions in the country, the scholarships offered by the GDR were a blessing. Mr Chitundu said the students will be flown to East Berlin by a chartered Zambia Airways plane which would carry other students from the Ministry of Agriculture and those who will be returning to resume classes after a holiday. [Text]
[Lusaka ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL in English 27 Aug 84 p 7]

CSO: 3400/2173

HUNDREDS BENEFIT FROM FOOD-FOR-WORK SCHEME

Bulawayo THE CHRONICLE in English 29 Aug 84 p 3

[Text] MORE than \$50 000 has already been paid out to over 1 100 people involved in 10 projects under the food-for-work programme in Masvingo Province, the Governor, Cde Dzikamai Mavhaire, said this week.

There are at present, however, no projects yet under the scheme in two of the districts. Zaka and Mwenezi Officials are awaiting approval to launch projects in the areas.

At present 583 people are involved in the scheme in Masvingo, 460 in Chiredzi, 330 in Chibi, 173 in Gutu and 60 in Bikita.

In Bikita people are working on the Magaisa-Gangare road. In Chiredzi they are involved in irrigation projects at Gudo pool, St Joseph's and Manjinji.

Irrigation

In Chibi people are working on the Chimwandawu dam. Berejena piped water scheme and Chiobwe-Zuva road while in Gutu they are working on the Zero-Basera road.

In Masvingo district they are working on Mbanje Bridge and the Mushandike irrigation scheme.

So far \$52 420 has already been paid out.

Cde Mavhaire said people working on the Chiobwe-Zuva road in Chibi and those on the Mbanje bridge in Masvingo District were experiencing problems as they did not have enough tools to use.

He was, however, confident they would be able to complete their projects in good time.

The Governor pointed out that people in the province highly appreciated the programme. Not all those who wished to join could be accommodated. He could not give any specific figures.

"African culture hates to receive and to continue receiving," he said, 'so people really want to work instead of just getting free hand-outs. And one other thing is that there is no question in this province that two dollars is too little for a day's work."

Cde Mavhaire said although there was a feeling that those on the programme were considered by their counterparts as working, those who had enough food understood the programme, were very sympathetic and willing to help.

He pointed out that at one time 216 bags of maize were sent to Charumbira by mistake. People in the area, however, came to see him telling him that they had enough food for the time being and asked that the food be sent to Chibi where people were worse off.

Cde Mavhaire said, these people even suggested that they raise food for the less fortunate in other areas.

Normal

The Governor also quelled the popular belief that the food-for-work programme might lead to other areas ending up more developed than others because normal development continued to take place.

"This is a short-term arrangement because we are not going to steal the ploughing time of our farmers," he said. "As and when it rains these people will have to go to their fields. So most projects are geared to last three to six months".

Cde Mavhaire, however, added that something would have to be done to cater for these people until the next season because the coming of the rains did not mean the people would have food there and then.

CSO: 3400/2166

DROUGHT FORCES FARMERS OFF LAND

Harare THE HERALD in English 30 Aug 84 p 4

[Text] SOME white farmers are leaving their farms in Matabeleland to settle elsewhere because their incomes are being cut each year by the drought, the founder and first president of the Gwanda and South-Western District Show Society, Mr Rogin Watson, said.

Officially opening the Gwanda agricultural show at Gwanda showgrounds on Saturday, Mr Watson said the main object in establishing a show society in the Gwanda district was the farmers' concern about agricultural development. But what was disappointing was that some farmers were leaving the district and settling elsewhere because of the drought.

These farmers, he added, were taking away their skills and experience. "The main reason for such farmers to abandon their farms is that their incomes are being eroded each year because of the three-year drought and high maintenance costs on farming equipment," Mr Watson said.

He said that during the 1950's Africa was an exporter of food, but as from 1970 it had become an importer of grain, adding that it was time the situation reversed.

The president of the show society, Mr John Dicey, told the 500 exhibitors at the show that the figure showed that a spirit of competition still existed among farmers despite other setbacks.

Mr Dicey appealed to members of the black community to join the society so that they could use facilities at the showgrounds at lower rates than those charged to non-members.

CSO: 3400/2166

FARMERS RESETTLED IN MASVINGO

Harare THE HERALD in English 31 Aug 84 p 13

[Text] GWERU--NEARLY 3000 farmers have been resettled in Masvingo Province, the Governor, Cde Dzikamai Mavhaire, said this week.

In Chiredzi 653 farmers have been resettled at Chizvirizvi and Nyahombe. Of these 283 farmers are at Chizvirizvi where two schools and one clinic have already opened.

At Nyahombe, there are 370 settlers. One school and one clinic are operating and two other schools are being built.

Seven hundred and fifty-one farmers have been resettled in Masvingo district.

The largest settlement is at Devuli in Bikita where 885 farmers have been settled.

Cde Mavhaire said although there was a great need to provide land to the people as this had been one of the prime objects of the liberation war, there was also a need to educate the people on better farming methods.

"It does not matter how many acres you give a person because if he does not have the proper farming education this can only lead to disaster," he said.

He said the province had already started organising teach-ins for farmers. Unlike in the past when such courses were made optional these courses were compulsory, he said.

"We tell our people that while one is settled to a piece of land, that land, in turn, is entitled to be fully used," he said.

Cde Mavhaire said the Masvingo provincial plan would be a five-year programme with yearly targets.

He said his officials were compiling the plan which should be out soon.

This plan would, however, have to be integrated with the plans or recommendations from the newly established Cideos and Wardcos as the draft plan had been

made by a planning committee that was established before the new provincial structure.

"I have no problem in trying to inject a spirit of unity and working together among the people in this province," he said. "The party did it for me."

CSO: 3400/2166

ARCHBISHOP HURLEY ON CHRISTIANITY'S CONFLICT WITH SOCIALISM

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 30 Aug 84 pp 12, 17

[Text]

WHEN Mr Mugabe asked church leaders from nine Southern African countries for their support, three considerations were probably uppermost in his mind. First, government is a more tranquil business if it has religious approval; second, he saw a compatibility between the principles of socialism and Christian philosophy; and third, the liberation struggle had had the backing of churchmen. That is not to say, though, that bishops would condone excesses committed in the name of new-found freedom any more than they should tolerate any form of oppression. In effect Mr Mugabe was throwing out a challenge to the churches to declare their stance in a state veering to the left. It is part of the ongoing dilemma of the churches in the post-colonial world.

There would be no conflict of interests between Church and State in a normal society swinging halfway to left or right, respecting human rights and human dignity. Mr Mugabe claims that his political philosophy also espouses those

values. Many of his opponents will disagree. Colonial Rhodesia — and, of course, South Africa — are associated with a discrimination which is abhorrent to religious teachings. Preachers must follow their consciences. Yet if they speak against the establishment, they could lose followers on the right while gaining adherents on the left. If they can condone the status quo, the drift away could be on the other side. Religion never was confined to the simple issue of an individual's sin, but in these turbulent times its apparent partisanship in matters of human dignity is deeply resented.

Archbishop Hurley said that the church could coexist with socialism — as indeed it often has — but that a class war, atheistic ideology or a socialist state capitalism that ends human freedom would be serious obstacles. The archbishop has clearly defined the church's territory. If Mr Mugabe or any other secular leader tries to operate outside those limits, it must be without the sponsorship of religion.

HARARE — Socialism in moderation was said to be compatible with Christianity although the Catholic Church would find itself opposed to its extreme left-wing application.

This view was expressed by Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban in an interview with The Star Bureau in Harare where he had been attending the inter-regional meeting of bishops of Southern Africa.

Archbishop Hurley, president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, was asked if he shared the view of the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, that in their basic tenets Christianity and socialism were not in conflict.

He said a lot would depend on what was meant by "socialism", a word which could have a great variety of meanings.

In its less left-wing application socialism was compatible with Christianity, he said. Many practices called socialism had been advocated by the major churches over the years.

"But socialism on the extreme left wing would mean ownership of all the means of production by the State. The Catholic Church would never agree with this because it would mean the end of our human freedom.

"It is worse than the worst excesses of private capitalism. It becomes State capitalism," he said.

On Zimbabwe's stated intention to establish a Socialist state based on Marxist-Leninist principles, the Archbishop said: "If Marxism-Leninism means the inevitability of class warfare and the creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, this is not compatible with Christianity.

"If ideologically the atheistic aspect comes in it is the complete antithesis of Christianity.

"We do not quite know what Mr Mugabe means when he talks about Marxist-Leninist policies. I cannot see him mean-

ing atheism. He certainly does not mean atheism.

"Does he mean out and out class war resulting in the dictatorship of the proletariat and the creation of a totalitarian state? If he means all that there is trouble ahead, but I cannot imagine that he does."

Archbishop Hurley and Mr Mugabe, who was brought up as a Catholic, were both educated by the Marist Brothers.

The Archbishop said that as old boys of Marist colleges there was a certain affinity.

The Archbishop was asked if the Church should involve itself in the appeal by Mr Mugabe for it to join hands in working for the liberation of the black man in South Africa and Namibia.

He replied: "My view is that the church must involve itself in endeavours to bring about the liberation of people deprived of the exercise of their human rights, deprived of their freedoms.

"There is a growing conviction among church leaders and many church people that a church cannot be a church and uphold moral principles unless it endeavours to see them applied in the social field."

Archbishop Hurley said it was an Olympic jump for the average Christian to realise that the moral principles he accepted in private life were also applicable to social life.

"It is a shock for him to realise this. Out of fear of change, out of fear of being engulfed by forces he does not quite understand, he usually rejects this. In South Africa there is a growing gap between the church leadership and white Christians who fear the step and fear what church leaders are saying," he said.

The Archbishop said he believed the churches should work out their own vision of social living that was neither capitalism nor state socialism "but some kind of attitude to the community and community living that gives expression to Christian attitudes in society, attitudes of sharing and caring

for one another".

He said that in South Africa the churches hoped to hold a conference in 1987 to seek an approach to help transform South African society in the direction of more just institutions and practices.

Changing white attitudes was proving to be a very slow process and figures in the Human Sciences Research Council survey of attitudes to racial policies were "dismaying".

IMPATIENCE

There was a slight movement in the Dutch Reformed Churches, which were important in determining Afrikaner attitudes, and this presented a glimmer of hope, but in the foreseeable future it was hard to picture any significant change resulting from peaceful methods.

"This of course raises the question of introducing other methods of change and these are the ones we cannot really debate in South Africa," he said.

The Archbishop said the black people were getting more and more impatient and the current student unrest was the typical way for blacks to show their discontent.

"It could get worse and worse and disrupt the whole country," he said.

The Archbishop said the coloured voters' boycott of the elections for the tricameral parliament showed that the great majority of the coloured people accepted the view that the participation offered was really meaningless.

The United Democratic Front would now have to work out a strategy for the future.

This was extremely difficult in South Africa because as soon as a strategy began to bite the organisation was likely to be banned and its leaders were likely to be detained.

On the future of the Catholic Church in independent black states in Southern Africa, Archbishop Hurley said there was a certain amount of apprehension but not real fear.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS FOR MASVINGO PROVINCE

Harare THE HERALD in English 31 Aug 84 p 13

[Text] SEVERAL micro-projects, including earth dams and latrine building programmes, have been successfully undertaken by the Masvingo provincial planning unit.

Yesterday the Secretary for Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development, Dr Langford Chitsike, opened, on behalf of the the minister, Cde Moven Mahachi, the Arda house in the provincial capital Masvingo.

The building, which will house the entire provincial planning team of the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority, was built with help from the West German agency for technical co-operation.

In the opening speech Cde Mahachi said Arda's provincial planning units were "teams of highly technical and professional staff" whose job was to solve local problems. They supported the planning and implementation of micro-projects in communal areas and had undertaken feasibility studies.

Several small-scale communal enterprise programmes had been started. Non-farmers could be employed in such areas as tailoring, bakeries, carpentry, welding, block-making and roof-sheet making. The enterprises supplied needed goods and services in communal lands.

Two small earth dams and a masonry weir had been built and work was in progress on repairing another dam and finishing 15 water storage works by September.

About 3 000 Blair latrines and 68 wells had been dug or were being dug. To help boost off-season food supplies and improve nutrition 304 group-run vegetable gardens had been helped with fencing and inputs and another 210 groups would be helped this season. Several ministries had assisted with the programme.

In the second phase, expected to run to the end of 1986 the planning unit would help with the financial arrangements, management support and monitoring of co-ordinated agricultural and rural development projects.

Some of these had already started, said Cde Mahachi. The unit had helped in the Mwenezi integrated livestock and land reform project by providing fencing and other micro-projects.

A co-ordinated agricultural and rural development pilot programme was being launched in the Gutu area to identify local problems precisely and initiate a programme of action that would grow on existing levels of production and would use self-help resources.

CSO: 3400/2166

MUGABE'S IMPACT WITH WORDS EXAMINED

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 31 Aug 84 p 16

[Text]

Mr Robert Mugabe is a politician with a definite "feel" for the impact of his words on his hearers. He knows how to be "nice" when he wants to be; and when the spirit moves him, he knows how and when to be nasty.

When he spoke to 60 Roman Catholic bishops at Chishawasha College, outside Harare, last week, he deftly softened the rather tutorial tone of his prepared speech with an ad-lib line that the church had a duty to speak out against injustice with courage in post-independence African societies, as well as in South Africa.

This went down well with the bishops, who stood and applauded Mr Mugabe and later took tea with him on the college lawns, their fine ecclesiastical robes of purple and black, white or scarlet, making a decided contrast in the sunshine with the Prime Minister's heavily-armed bodyguard of ex-guerillas wearing camouflage and matching, off-the-shoulder, 7,62 mm cartridge belts.

All forgotten was Mr Mugabe's icy rage against the "sanctimonious prelates" who last year denounced the activities of his Fifth Brigade troops in Matabeleland.

It was to that part of Zimbabwe Mr Mugabe flew straight after his meeting with the bishops.

He found there a happier security situation than has obtained since the abduction of six foreign tourists by Zipra guerilla dissidents in July, 1982. The dusk-to-dawn curfews have been lifted, Botswana is repatriating suspected dissidents who take refuge across the uncontrollable 700 km border, and South Africa, says Mr Mugabe's security supremo Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, has stopped assisting the infiltration (of anti-Mugabe elements) since it signed the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique last February.

Yet when Mr Mugabe spoke in Parliament about contacts with South Africa it was in a none-too-friendly tone.

With television cameras focused upon him for the monthly Prime Minister's 'Question Time, when he answers impromptu queries, Mr Mugabe was in a highly amiable mood, jovially inviting "Comrade Ian Smith" to co-operate in the introduction of a one-party state.

He was not at all peeved to be asked about relations with Pretoria. "All I can say is

that there has been a lull for quite some time now and it appears either that South Africa has not been successful in continuing its process of infiltrating our country with super-Zapu elements; or it has deliberately decided to stop the policy," he said.

Mr Mugabe then very carefully repeated this another way, saying he could not "mislead the House" by suggesting South Africa had to his certain knowledge definitely abandoned "destabilisation".

But he told MPs that South Africa and Zimbabwe had police and army commanders continually consulting each other at high levels, even, with his blessing, holding meetings in Johannesburg to discuss "Super-Zapu" and destabilisation.

Speaking quietly and deliberately, Mr Mugabe added: "What we will not have is a forum — and this is what South Africa desires — at which a Minister of my government will meet a Minister from Botha's government and confer at political level.

"That, I am afraid, we cannot accede to."

In view of Mr Mugabe's habitually carefully chosen words, it is hard to believe he would have said that unless he had

received a specific request from Mr P. W. Botha's government and flatly rejected it.

Mr Mugabe evidently continues to regard Pretoria with grave suspicion and resentment. "Radio Truth" is still broadcasting propaganda to Zimbabwe and, Nkomati Accord or no, the Mozambique resistance movement has not stopped disrupting Zimbabwe's vital trade routes to Blantyre in Malawi, and Beira. To Mr Mugabe these are not pinpricks but thorns in the flesh, for which he blames Pretoria.

After the television cameras had been withdrawn from the House at the end of Prime Minister's Question Time, Mr Ian Smith rose to put a formal question he had down on the Parliamentary order paper for some weeks, asking Mr Mugabe's views on an Nkomati-style accord with South Africa.

All that was necessary was for Mr Mugabe to draw Mr Smith's attention to his earlier off-the-cuff remarks and sit down.

Instead, he snapped back at the former Rhodesian Premier: Who is he to ask for it? (an accord).

With heavy sarcasm, Mr Mugabe said Mr Smith was a friend of members of "the apartheid regime" and

should prevail upon them to stop destabilising Zimbabwe rather than devote his South African trips to watching rugby.

One got the message that Mr Mugabe was no longer in the mood for pleasantries.

Just how much the rules of government and politics have changed in this country during the past five years can be learned from Mr Mugabe's response to a question from a Zapu member, Mr Edward Ndlovu, on the number of Zimbabwean troops killed fighting Renamo rebels in Mozambique.

Mr Ndlovu leapt angrily to his feet to protest when Mr Mugabe replied that he did not intend to help Mr Ndlovu feed these statistics to Renamo.

"This is a security question. I do not expect Honourable Members really to ask questions of that nature," said Mr Mugabe.

Those who lived in, or visited, this country during the war years (1972-80) will remember the daily news bulletin broadcasts beginning "Security force headquarters regret to announce . . ."

Today, we are looking, as the Americans say, at a different ball game.

BRIEFS

NEWSPAPERS LOSE--HARARE--Zimbabwe Newspapers, in which the government-appointed Mass Media Trust has the biggest shareholding bought from the Argus Company three years ago, is in the red. It said that in the first half of 1984 a trading loss of R358 000 was recorded--a drop of R694 000 compared with after-tax profit the same time last year. Financing a new press, costlier raw materials and wage rises, a serious drop in advertising revenue led to the loss. Losses in Bulawayo more than absorbed Harare profits. The daily circulation of the main paper, the Herald, fell from 123 000 over the first six months of last year to 116 000 this year. Circulation was climbing again and a full recovery was expected in the second half of this year. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Sep 84 p 11M]

ZANU WOMEN RANSACK ZAPU HOME--WITH tears in his eyes, Mr Alexander Manungo stood by helplessly as 1 000 angry women ransacked his house, smashing furniture and shattering windows. Police stood idly by as the members of the Bindura branch of Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe's ruling Zanu party tossed chairs, beds, pots and pans into the street. Only when the women threatened to burn down the municipality-owned house, and beat up Mr Manungo, did police break up what the official Zimbabwe information described as a demonstration. The reason? Mr Manungo is a junior official of opposition leader Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union. Bindura Women's League chairwoman Mrs Cornelia Chigiji said the march was intended "to weed out people who harboured dissidents in Bindura". But Mr Manungo refused to bow to intimidation. As he surveyed the ruins of his house, and wiped tears from his eyes, he said: "I'm not leaving. This is my home, the only home I know." [Text] [By Norman Ellis] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 2 Sep 84 p 7]

END

CSO: 3400/2172

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

12 Oct 1984